



# KERALA UNDER HAIDAR ALI AND TIPU SULTAN

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO  
THE ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY, ALIGARH  
FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE  
OF  
**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF  
**Dr. S. NURUL HASAN**  
M. A. D. Phil. (Oxon). F. R. Hist. S. F. R. A. S.  
PROFESSOR AND HEAD OF THE DEPTT. OF HISTORY

Department of History  
ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY  
ALIGARH 1968.

BY  
**C. K. ABDUL KAREEM**

### ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I wish to express my sincere gratitude to all who have helped me in this undertaking.

My thanks go first to Prof. S. Nurul Hasan, M.P., Dean Faculty of Arts and Head of the Department of History, Muslim University, Aligarh, who has guided me in my work. He rendered invaluable advice and useful insight into the immense complexities of the work of this nature. It would have been difficult for me to finalise this in its present form if I did not get the fortune of his guidance and supervision. I express with a deep sense of gratitude my sincere thanks to him.

I have also been fortunate in getting highly useful help and advice from Prof. Mohibbul Hasan Khan, Head of the Department of History, Jamia Millia, Delhi. I am most anxious to express my gratitude to him for his invaluable scrutiny and correction of this work. I shall be failing in my duty if I do not acknowledge the timely help and encouragement that I have received from Prof. R.A. Nizami of the Department of History, Muslim University, Aligarh.

I am also thankful to Mr. P.K. Abdulla, I.A.S., former Secretary for Education, Government of Kerala. He has, in various ways, helped me in this connection. I am also indebted to the University of Kerala for granting me a scholarship to undertake the project. In this connection, I have to register my thanks to Mr. A.M.N. Chakiar, the then Registrar of the University of Kerala, for the help rendered

to me in this regard. I also thank my friends and colleagues who were always a source of inspiration and encouragement for me.

Aligarh, I  
1-8-1968. I

C.K. Abdul Kareem,  
Lecturer in History,  
University College,  
Trivandrum,  
Kerala State.

## **C O N T E N T S**

---

<u>S.No.</u>	<u>SUBJECT.</u>	<u>PAGE</u>
1.	INTRODUCTION	.. i - xxxii
2.	CHAPTER I - Haider Ali's invasion of Kerala	.. 1
3.	CHAPTER II - Political situation of Kerala under Tipu Sultan	.. 57
4.	CHAPTER III - Administration of Malabar under Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan	.. 114
5.	CHAPTER IV - Economic condition	.. 161
6.	CHAPTER V - Religious policy of Tipu Sultan	.. 179
7.	CHAPTER VI - Conclusion	.. 200
8.	BIBLIOGRAPHY	.. i - xi

---



### ABBREVIATIONS

Cons.	-- Consultations
Cor.	-- Correspondence
C.R.E.	-- Central Records, Ernakulam.
Dept.	-- Department
Desp.	-- Despatch
D.R.	-- Dutch Records
Fgn.	-- Foreign.
L.	-- List
Misc.	-- Miscellaneous
Mly.	-- Military
M.R.O.	-- Madras Record Office
N.A.I.	-- National Archives of India
O.R.	-- Original Receipts
Para.	-- Paragraph
Pol.	-- Political
P.R.C.	-- Poona Residency Corres- pondence.
Pro.	-- Proceedings
S.	-- Series
Sec.	-- Secret
T.F.R.	-- Tellichery Factory Records.

## **ILLUSTRATIONS**

- 1. Map of Kerala before 1766**
- 2. Map of Kerala after 1766**
- 3. Map of Kerala after 1792**
- 4. Fort of Paliport (Ayyicottah)**
- 5. Fort of Palghat.**

**\*\*\*\*\***

## **INTRODUCTION**

### **Scope and importance of the study**

Truth and veracity are admittedly the essential virtues that help to make history play its part. Unfortunately these are the two qualities deliberately set aside by historians who write the history of a country ruled by a foreign power. Events of far-reaching and historical significance are intentionally twisted and distorted, misrepresented and misinterpreted, to the advantage of the conqueror and the disadvantage of the conquered. The history of India was written by the English and for the English, with the specific view that the sun may never set on the British Empire. It is, therefore, meet and just to cast suspicion and doubt on most of what has been said by the English historians of Indian history, and endeavour to find out much that they have concealed and not said or dared not to say. A typical example of the English historians' bias for the English conquerors of India can be clearly seen in the way they have presented Britain's rivalry and sanguinary wars with the Nawabs of Mysore.

This period of Indian history is crowded with false misrepresentations and imperfectly developed relations which contaminate and obscure our vision of the exact and correct state of affairs. It has given rise to the belief commonly

entertained that the Mysoreans entered Kerala, in hordes innumerable, not as brave soldiers of fortune but as fierce and cruel barbarians, consigning all things to fire and sword, pitiless and inhuman to men and women of all ages, destroying whatever they found in their path and leaving no one stone upon another in the hapless places they subdued. But a sound and just discrimination forbids us to content ourselves with the testimony of only one side. We have to compare the relations of both parties with impartiality and cite them with the sole purpose of discovering the truth. The present attempt is aimed in this direction. As the Mysorean occupation of Kerala and its resultant consequences are a matter unshakably ushered in all kinds of controversy, a specialised study of the period is a sine-qua-non to reveal the real position of 'Kerala under Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan.'

No serious and detailed study of this period has so far been made except for the brief references in the general histories of Kerala and the monographs on Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan. Kerala under Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan witnessed great social, economic and political changes which had far-reaching effects on the life of the people. But there was yet more, the fidelity of the Mysore rulers in maintaining their promises and the equal handed justice which they administered to all classes without distinction of any kind, secured them the confidence of the people in general, as well as those who had closer intercourse with them. All these highly admirable qualities of administration of the Mysoreans in Kerala were set at naught by the false stories that were consciously propagated in this part of the country. In a place where the absence of writing history is conspicuous by its absence, the distorted stories released by the interested parties found ready response among the people. Thus, myths, stories, legends, and hearsay have assumed the role of history.

as there is not a single work worthy of claiming itself as a comprehensive and authentic history of Kerala. Particularly the period relating to the Mysore occupation of Kerala is a subject of unjust accusations for reasons more than one. The present attempt is to be evaluated in the background of the false notion deep-rooted in the minds of the people that the Mysore rule was a 'barbarian regime' and also the non-availability of much indigenous source-material to construct the history of this period.

In the present work, an attempt has been made to convey the political, social and economic conditions before and after the Mysore occupation of Kerala on the strength of available original documents. The conquest and consolidation of Malabar by Haider Ali and the administration which he and after him, his son, Tipu Sultan, introduced are matters of great importance. Evidences were brought out to convince that the cruelty and religious bigotry attributed often to them by biased historians are a distortion of facts. If efforts are made to probe into their activities dispassionately, these will prove otherwise. The Malabar Edicts of Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan on which all the stories of fanaticism of religious persecutions are centred, are discussed at length to establish that they originated from the fertile imagination of some writers and that no such edicts were published by them. The political set up, the social pattern and the economic life of the people were thoroughly overhauled by the reforms of Mysore Nawabs. In their relation with the native States of Cochin and Travancore also, attempt has been made to bring out certain hitherto unpublished documents

which shed light on some important considerations that conditioned their relations with Mysore. The activities of the foreign powers on the coast of Malabar and their special interest in the area have also been treated in their proper light.

Sources of information.

The sources used chiefly for the construction of the present work are memoirs, diaries, letters, diplomatic reports and news-letters and original narrative of contemporaries and eye-witnesses. To corroborate and supplement these sources, secondary works of well-known authors are utilised. The National Archives of India supply a mine of information. The Proceedings, Consultations and Secret Letters to the Court of Directors and from them in the foreign, Home, Miscellaneous and Military Departments will help us to write history on scientific basis. The Malabar Commissioners' Report with connected papers and a supplementary Report of 1792-94 exhibit the state of Malabar when the country came into the hands of the English on the conclusion of peace with Tipu Sultan in 1792 A.D. Since they are reports required to be submitted to assess the real condition of the country and the history of its people the Commissioners were under obligation to give an objective study of the problems of Kerala. These reports that are in the Foreign Miscellaneous series if carefully studied are enough to belie the allegations against Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan. These reports supply sufficient materials to write a comprehensive history of Kerala with its sequence of men and events. These may be called the first history of Kerala State. The Tellicherry and Anjengo Factory Diaries, Military Consultations and Military Sundry Books etc. that

are in the Madras Record Office are also highly useful for the study of this period. The available materials in the Central Records, Ernakulam, Records of Kozhikode Collectorate, of State Archives, and Manuscript libraries of Trivandrum and Trippunithura are also made use of for the present study.

The published documents of the Record Offices of Kerala, Hyderabad, Bombay, Madras and Delhi are also highly helpful for the study of the period. The news-letters and diplomatic correspondence, Poona Akbbars etc. published by the Hyderabad Record Office are very important for this purpose. The Dutch Records and Memoirs of Dutch Governors of Malabar Coast; Baramahal Records and other publications of Madras Record Office served, with resourceful materials. Three volumes of Poona Residency Correspondence, contain a good deal of information, particularly the third volume that supplies diplomatic correspondence of Governor-General and the other three principal parties of the Third Mysore War in the chronological order and sequence of events is highly important to supplement and corroborate other sources. The Minutes, Correspondence etc. of Marquis of Wellesly and the Indian Record Series - the old vestiges of Madras etc. are also helpful for the study. The Inam Registers of Kozhikode Collectorate Records, the manuscript grandhams of Trippunithura and the Dutch Correspondence of this period in the Central Records, Ernakulam were also consulted for this purpose and references are quoted wherever necessary.

Apart from these original materials, the writings of contemporary historians and travellers are also made use of to supplement other sources. Colonel Wilk's 'History of

Mysore' written in 1810-14 is the main contemporary work among the English historians comprising more or less the history of Mysore and her wars with native and foreign powers. Though it is written with remarkable lucidity, it lacks many qualities of history. The basis of exhaustive original sources and the details necessary for a specialised study and above all the contemptuous bias of the Historian, take the whole work far away from factual embodiment of history. But his work could do great harm than any other single work produced by the historians of same category. Later historians made the situation worse further by intentionally borrowing passage after passage from him. When Bowring wrote his 'Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan' and W.Logan 'The Malabar Manual' did not fail to depend solely on Wilks for their description of Mysore and her rulers Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan. But the caution given by J.Mill that "for opinions his (Col.Wilks's) partialities deserve to be watched" (J.Mill, Vol.V, P.297) was ignored by all historians who considered Wilks as their authority.

Through their publications, Beaston and Kirkpatrick also contributed as much as they could in the cruel condemnation of Tipu Sultan. When 'the Select Letters of Tipoo Sultan' was published by Kirkpatrick, he had dexteriously manipulated to tamper with some of them to suit the declared policy of the English in India. The translation of these letters is also not completely reliable. Further he misleads the readers with his own interpretations quoting from the so-called 'Biography of Tipoo Sultan', which was evidently written by some one else in the English camp.

Dirom's 'Narrative' published in 1794, professedly treats of the very last phase of the Third Anglo-Mysore war from June, 1791 to February, 1792 and totally ignores the diplomacy which vitally affected the military issue. He also admits that his 'Narrative' is still imperfect and that in the operations of several armies all the interesting



circumstances which occurred cannot have come to his knowledge. Similarly Edward Moor's 'Narrative of Operations of Captain Little's Detachment' published in 1794, deals only with side show - the work of the small British detachment that accompanied Parasuram Ezhai Patwardhan. Here too he confesses that the communications of many valuable materials from his friends in India which he was expecting did not reach him. Thus it is defective in many respects.

The important contemporary writings that deal directly with the Malabar affairs are 'The Journey from Madras, through Mysore, Canara and Malabar' by Dr. Francis Buchanan and 'A view of the English interests in India', by W. Fullarton. Buchanan was deputed to assess the actual position of the ceded territory of Malabar with specific instructions from the Governor-General that runs: "your enquiries are to extend throughout the dominions of the present Raja of Mysore, and the country acquired by the Company, in the late war, from the Sultan, as well as to that part of Malabar which the Company annexed to their own territories in the former war under Marquis Cornwallis." This order was dated February 24, 1800. Buchanan accordingly undertook the work entrusted to him. The Report he submitted thus was published from London, in three Volumes in the year 1807. He travelled in all places with the inquisitiveness of a curious observer and enquiring and collecting materials for his book. It contains a good deal of information. Leaving an allowance to his English prejudice and avowed hatred of Mysore Sultans, his work throws much light on the social, economic and commercial conditions of Kerala. A cautious search will supply copious materials to the present day historians to write the history of Kerala. In many instances Buchanan supplements the Reports of the

'Joint Commissioners of Malabar'. At the same time, it is easy to pick up the main thread when he deviates from factual statements to make false allegations against Mysoreans because his own conscience leads him to contradict such statements afterwards. Despite this evil of general condemnation of Mysore rule that are frequently done, a perusal of the work will reveal a clear picture of Kerala before and after the Mysore occupation.

Fullarton had written his book from his personal experience as a person who took part in the capture of Palghat Fort, during the Second Anglo-Mysore War. After the Treaty of Mangalore, it was this Colonel who continued his army operations in Malabar even defying the orders from his superiors. His haughty character is clearly manifested in his writings. It was he who wrote that when the Mysorean force arrived, the Zamorin to whom he had entrusted the Fort evacuated only because the Mysoreans beheaded a number of Brahmans and showed their heads to the soldiers of Zamorin who were inside the Fort that made them feel to vacate the place than witnessing such atrocities. All the native historians of Kerala follow him to describe this event.

Not satisfied with their own unmerited criticism, the English historians brought out a number of anonymous works including a Memoir of Tipu Sultan. One such work was entitled "the History of Hydar Shah and of his Son Tippoo Sultan", about the author of which the publisher says in his preface that he was "an impartial writer, who never gave his name to the public though it is evident that he was a Frenchman who served as a General in the army of the Mughal Empire." This book of an unknown author, was certainly written with the connivance of the English like many such historical literature of the period and is largely made use of by W. Logan

who wrote his 'Malabar Manual' in the year 1885. He qualifies the Author of the book with a general statement that he was the confidant of Prince Gulam Mohamed, the only surviving son of Tipu Sultan and says that he was 'a general in the Mughal army' without referring his nationality or religion. Since Logan's 'Manual' has become the first book that deals with the history of Kerala in general and Malabar in particular and since the author himself was a scholar of no mean repute and intimately connected with the Malabar affairs as Collector of this District, his work became the basis of all other writings on Kerala history. Publishing his book in the year 1957, K.M. Panicker who was misled by the statement of Logan presented the Author of 'the History of Hyder Shah' etc. "as a pro-Naidar Muslim historian." The publisher of the book himself clearly says that he was a Frenchman probably a general in the army of the Mughals. It is improbable to believe also that K.M. Panicker mistook that all Mughal officers were Muslims. Evidently this book of an unknown author is the product of English genius, the like of which are in abundance in the historical literature of India especially that deal with the period under review. We have to remember that all these English historians were army generals who were either defeated by the Mysore Nawabs or met shameful retreat in their campaigns against them. In expressing their violent hatred to their enemy, they found in print the consolation they could not obtain in action.

At the same time, Tipu's own historians also wrote much about him which were against historical facts. They wanted to glorify him as a champion of Islam and evaluated all his deeds through the eyes of fanatic Muslim historians to bestow on their hero the crown of a zealous missionary. This is a general characteristic of all Muslim historians who were attached to the royal courts. Some of them who lived under the protection of the Company after the fall of Tipu also wrote

such stories to prove their fidelity to their new masters as Kirmani and others had done. Thus the history of this period is miserably tangled in the meshes of historical mysteries.

But the serious students of history very well understand the game played by the English in writing the history of this country and of its rulers. So also they are aware of the court historians who were always subjective in their analysis of men and matters, and their writings are actually the mirror of their own thinking and the reflection of their own conservative minds. But there is greater danger when ostensibly uncommitted historians tend to overlook facts. Thus when E.M.G. Namboodiripad doubts in his book about the forcible conversion and makes the statement "but they were a few" will do much more harm than Logan, Innes and Panicker repeating hundred times that 40,000 Coorg people or 2000 Hairs of Kuttipuram etc. were circumcised and made Mussalmans. It is like Mr. Surendranath Sen in his 'Studies in Indian History' justifies the religious policy of Tipu Sultan with the remark that the conversions made by Tipu was on political grounds and not religious.

This is clearly manifested in the writings of the so-called historians of Kerala. Before they began to take up the work of writing something about the history of Kerala, a number of books had come out from English sources to which they strictly adhered. Thus the venom spitted out by the English authors of 'Manuals' and 'Gazetteers' spread in the writings of historians of Kerala. The cruel stories of fanaticism etc. told about the Mysore rulers and find sufficient

space in the writings of modern scholars also, are due to the fact that all who had written about the subject belong to that community who by the peculiar circumstances prevailed during that time, suffered very much when social and economic reforms were introduced by the Mysore rulers in Kerala. This is sufficiently explained in the relevant places in our discussions. Therefore at present need not elaborate the point further. But it is incumbent on serious students of history to expose these discrepancies that are creeping even now in the narration of our history.

As stated above, it was H. Logan who began the work of writing the history of Kerala. After him C.A. Innes, who was also one of the Malabar Collectors, wrote his Malabar Gazetteers in two volumes published in the early years of the present century. His work is nothing but a summary of Logan's 'Malabar Manual'. This was followed by the 'Cochin State Manual' and 'Travancore State Manuals.' All these followed the pattern of Malabar Manual. Another notable writer was K.P. Padmanabha Menon who had published 'the History of Kerala' in four volumes and 'the History of Cochin State' in two volumes. The Kerala History is compiled in such a manner that it would be conveyed through 'Viascher's Letters from Malabar'. The accounts therefore do not give a continuous history of Kerala. The author fails to weld together various events in their sequence to compile a comprehensive history. His work on the history of Cochin State contains useful information. Though many modern scholars have contributed to enrich this branch of knowledge, a comprehensive history of Kerala has yet to come out. It will be surprising to note that all the modern historical literature on Kerala history are based on the early writings of the authors of Manuals. No scholar has taken pains to consult original documents and thus bring out original contributions.

Though the period apparently covers only from 1766-1792 - the period of Mysore rule in Kerala - an attempt has been made to bring out the state of medieval society with its peculiar habits, manners, customs and composition for the purpose of realising the importance of the radical changes introduced in these spheres with their effects and consequences, by the Mysore Rulers. As such a number of secondary source-materials have been carefully looked into. Since more details are given in the bibliography about the sources - original and secondary - consulted, it is superfluous to enumerate them.

#### The origin and name of Kerala.

Legends speak of Kerala as a creation of Parasurama, a mythical hero, who gave away the land to Brahmins as a gift to atone his sins in extirpating the Kshatriyas.(1). Undoubtedly this story is of a later origin to secure the Brahmins unbounded power and influence in the country.(2).

The name 'Kerala' was derived from the Canerese term 'Kerala' or 'Keral' which is the Tamil synonym of 'Cherala'(3). The word means a land bounded by mountains.(4). But the travellers of medieval period denoted the place by different names.(5). Till the close of tenth century, the Arab geographers and navigators knew the place by the name 'Malai'. Al - Idrisi called the country 'Manibar' late in the year 1153.(6). The Arabs had in their stock another favourite name 'Bilad-ul-phul-phul' meaning the country of pepper.(7).

---

(1) See Kerala-ul-pathi, Kerala-Pahatnyam, Kerala-Charitam of Jethu Lekshmi Bai Grandhavari.

(2) Logan: Malabar Manual, Vol.I, Pp.221-22.

(3) Samsulla Qadiri: Ancient Malabar, P.1.

(4) Tamilian Antiquary, Vol.IV, pp. 69-71.

(5) Malabar, Manibar, Malibar, Malai Nadu, Malakkara, Malanadu, Malai, Malayalam, Malabar etc.

(6) Elliotts: History of India, Vol.I, P.90.

(7) Aja-Ibul-Hind, P.94; Taqveem-ul-Buldan, P.355.

The travellers Rasheed-ud-deen (1247) and Marcopolo (1293) name the country 'Malibar', whereas Ibn-Battuta (1342) calls it 'Malaibar' (8). Buchanan thinks that Malayala is the vulgar word, for what is called Kerala in the Sanskrit. (9). The word Malabar used by ancient travellers and also in the Portuguese and Dutch records is practically equivalent to Kerala. Probably the name Kerala came into use after the western side of the ghats became politically disintegrated from that on the other side. The erstwhile States of Travancore and Cochin and the Malabar District of erstwhile Madras Presidency together, at present, make up the modern State of Kerala.

#### Boundaries and physical features.

Kerala is cut off from the rest of South India by the Sahyadri mountains (western ghats) which mark the eastern boundary of the State. The western limit of Kerala is washed by the Arabian Sea and has a long coastline with many natural harbours. The northern boundary starts from Kasarkode about 50 miles south of Goa, from where it runs to Parassala, a few miles north of Cape Comerin. This tract of land between the ghats and Arabian Sea is called 'Kerala'.

The Western Ghats include a chain of mountains which start from the vallies of river Tapati to Cape Comerin, covering an area of more than thousand miles. In the northern side, the distance between the sea and the mountains is only 20 miles but it increases steadily to 60 miles at Palghat. Here there is a wide opening in the ghats to the extent of 16 miles. It is through this gap the railway runs to the eastern side and enters Madras State.

There are a number of hills in the country. Elimala or

---

(8) Ancient Malabar, P.4; Travels of Ibn Battuta, P. 24.

(9) Buchanan, Vol.II, P.347.

Mount Dali is a conspicuous isolated hill on the sea-shore, well-known as a land-mark for mariners since the earliest times. Innumerable rivers serve the water supply of the country and enrich the soil with fertility and vegetation. They are navigable also. Important of them are Periyar, Perar, Ponnani, Badagara, Bharatapuzha and Cranganore Rivers.

The forests and jungles are intermittently seen in any part of Kerala. They provided the rebels to make their hiding places. Forest wealth is one of the major items of revenue even to the present day.

Kerala has a long coastline with a number of harbours. It runs more than 250 miles in length. This long coastline has played considerable role in the economic, political and social life of the people of Kerala.

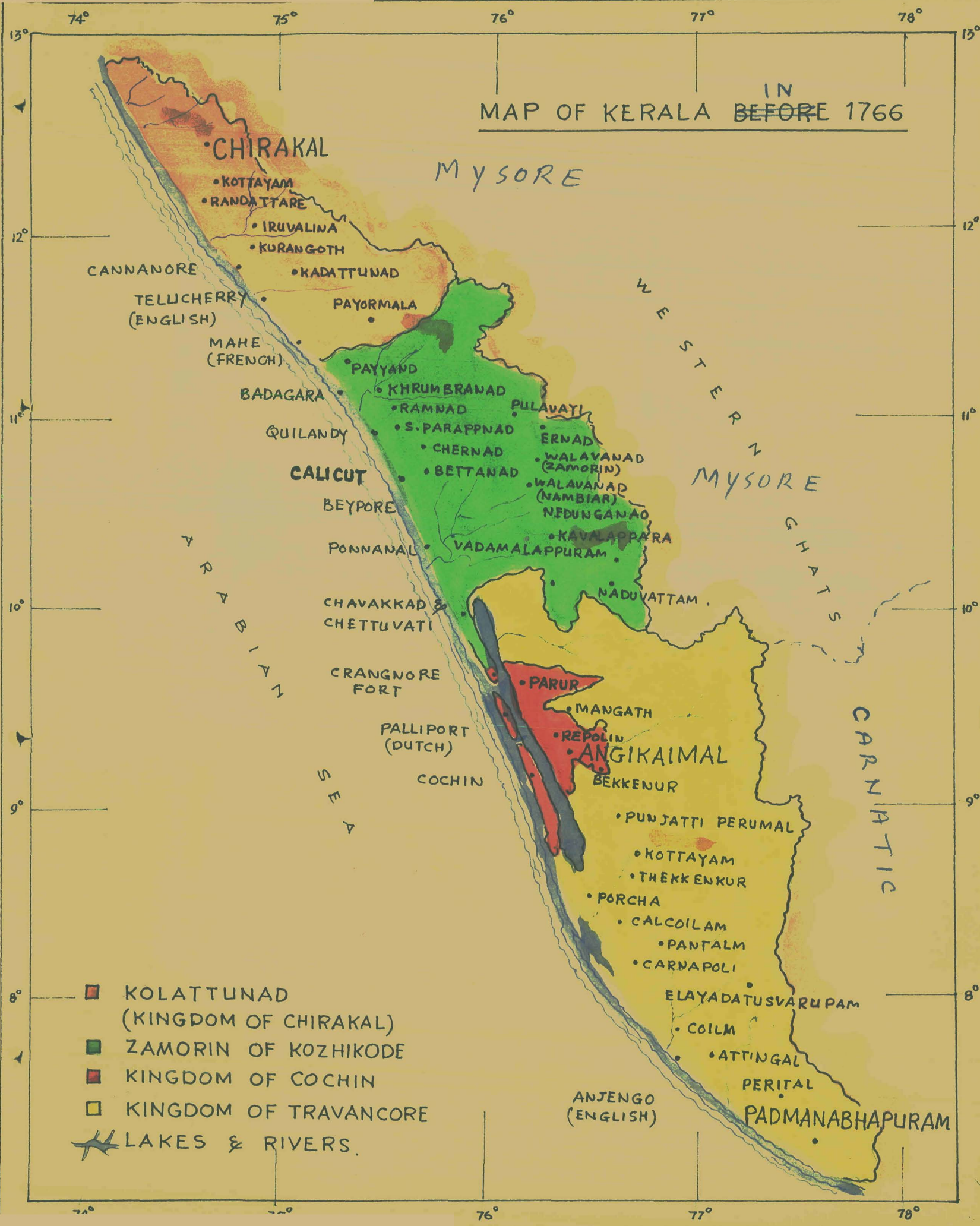
Kerala has got a moderate climate. The temperature rarely rises above 90 degree and it seldom falls 70 degree F.a.ht. Frequent rains that fill the lakes, canals and rivers, supply readily the required pure water. These geographical features make the country thickly populated.

#### Influence of geography.

Kerala has a unique topographical feature of her own. She is separated as an isolated unit of the Western Ghats. This unique quality has been conceived as the major factor which was responsible for the development of a separate culture quite distinct from the other side of the ghats. Though separated from the rest of South India by Western Ghats, her western frontier was wide open for commercial and cultural activities. Thus from time immemorial, different kinds of races, religions, philosophies and cultures entered into Kerala through the agency of traders, travellers, missionaries and adventurers.

When the sea-ports and harbours received cultural impetus through trade and maritime activities, the Western Ghats







also opened her doors for the entrance of waves of new thoughts and ideas. When Jews, Christians and Muslims reached the coast through her commercial contacts, Jains, Budhists and later Aryan Brahmins entered through the ghats. Its people, its customs and manners, its institutions, its architecture and its traditions are all so deeply influenced<sup>by</sup> the features of geography, that it affords point of peculiar attraction to the student of ethnology.

The hills are of various dimensions. These hill tracts and mountaneous nature of the country helped the establishment of a number of principalities. The process of unification sought by Haider Ali and his son Tipu Sultan was hampered by these physical peculiarities of the place. The fertility of the soil, the copious supply of fish by the seas, the cash products like pepper, ginger, cardamom, cinnamon and cassia; the evergreen cocoanut groves; the dense forests with abundance of teak, sandal wood and other forest wealth of ivory, honey etc. attracted the people from neighbouring States and made this place thickly populated. No other State in India has perhaps been so deeply influenced by her geography as that of Kerala.

#### Political condition on the eve of Haider Ali's invasion.

When Stein Van Gollennesse wrote his 'Memorandum of Administration on the Malabar Coast' in 1743, he had enumerated 42 small principalities and four important kingdoms, viz., Kolatiri (Chirakkal), Zamorin of Kozhikode, the Rajas of Cochin and Travancore (1). North Malabar was once under the sway of the Kolatiri Rajas. The Zamorin of Kozhikode enjoyed supremacy over the whole of South Malabar. Cochin and Travancore were ruled by independent rulers. All of them had a number of princes or chieftains who owed allegiance to these rulers.

---

(1) Gollennesse: Memorandum etc., PP.45-6.

But the political condition of Malabar was highly favourable to any invader on the eve of Haider Ali's conquest. North Malabar which was under the Kolatiris was split up into a number of independent principalities. Their supremacy was confined to the town of Chirakkal. Cannanore was virtually an independent kingdom under its Muslim Chief Aly Raja. The Chief of Kadattanad ruled between the Mahe and Kotta Rivers. The Cotiate or Kottayam Taluk itself was divided between Irumelinad Nambiar and Kottayam Nairs who enjoyed sovereignty over the territories they held. At Tellichery and Mahe, the English and the French had their factories respectively. Zamorin's power was also weakened by his incessant wars. Petty princes under him in South Malabar asserted their independence. The Raja of Cochin was a vassal state of the Dutch. Travancore under Marthanda Varma became the foremost power in Kerala during this period. This was the political map of Kerala on the eve of Haider Ali's invasion.

#### Their mutual relations and internal conditions.

The peculiar condition of Kerala was the absence of a paramount power. The princes and chieftains were quite free to enter into any alliance or treaty with any power or declare war or conclude peace or collect taxes or tolls. They were quite independent as free rulers. The only check upon their power was that they were not permitted to wear crowns or mint coins or keep a canopy over their heads. (1). A strange political usage of reinstalling the vanquished rulers and chieftains and abstaining from awarding capital punishments to them left them free from fear of death. Foulal wars and blood shed were always common. Their mutual jealousies and internal feuds made them to fight each other and forget even the grave threat to their bare existence. This is amply manifested by Moens in his 'Memorandum.' (2).

---

(1) Barbosa: A description of the Coast of East Africa and Malabar. P.107.

(2) Moens: Memorandum on the Administration of the Malabar Coast. P.133.

The relation between the Chief rulers of Kerala - the Zamorin, the Rajas of Kolatiri, Cochin and Travancore - was also enmical. All of them wanted to be the Perumal of Kerala. This led to a number of wars. When Zamorin had to wage wars continuously more than a century against the Portuguese, the Raja of Cochin helped them with all his might. When the Raja of Cochin sought assistance of the Dutch, Zamorin turned against them. (3). When Vasco-da-Gama could not come into terms with Zamorin, Kolatiri received him and conferred on him all kinds of favours. (4). The Raja of Travancore came to the assistance of Cochin, when she was attacked by the Zamorin in the year 1752. All these powers vied with each other to enlist support in their mutual wars from foreign powers who were very active in the Coast. Thus the absolute absence of a unifying authority was the outstanding feature of Malabar politics on the eve of Haider Ali's conquest.

#### Relations with foreign powers.

The Raja of Cochin entered into a treaty with the Dutch in the year 1663, when they captured the Portuguese possessions of Kerala (5). The Portuguese forts of Ayyicottah, Cranganore and Cochin, thus passed into the hands of the Dutch. It was from these places the Dutch conducted their commercial activities. Cochin remained as a faithful ally of the Dutch till they were defeated by the English in 1797. The relation of the Raja of Travancore with the Dutch was not cordial. He defeated them in the year 1753 and obtained a very favourable treaty from them. This is known as the Treaty of Mavelikkara. (6).

The rulers of Cochin and Travancore do not seem to have had any kind of relation with the French. But the Raja of Kadattnad and the Raja of Chirakkal allied with them and helped them in their trade activities. The French captured Mahe in the year 1725 (7). Since then Mahe remained as one of the important centres

---

(3) Ibid, P.132.

(4) Sheikh Zainuddeen: Tuhfat-ul-Mujahideen, P.106.

(5) C.R.E: Grandham No. 64.

(6) D.R: No.13, PP.23-4.

(7) G.B.Melleson: The History of the French in India, P.62.

of Malabar politics and commercial activities. Mahe is situated four miles south of Tellicherry. With the instigation of the English Factors of Tellichery, the rulers of Neelawaram, Kottayam and Cannanore dismantled the French of their forts and factories built in their respective territories. During the period under review Mahe was the only French possession in the Malabar Coast.

In their attempts to dislodge other foreign powers, the English were very active in supporting and allying with the native princes of Malabar. At Tellichery in Malabar and Anjengo in Travancore, the English built their factories. The former was obtained from one of the families of Kolatiri in the year 1708(8) and the latter was obtained from the Rani of Attingal in 1690. It was from these places the English carried out their military and commercial activities in the Malabar Coast. The Rajas of Kottayam, Chirakkal and Neelawaram entered into 'perpetual friendship' with the English through separate treaties.(9). Zamorin of Kozhikode also came into alliance with them.(10). Thus in Malabar politics, the English could count many supporters among the princes at the advent of Mysoreans.

The relation of the Raja of Travancore with the English was one of friendship throughout this period. "The productiveness of his dominions enabled him to contribute considerably to the military resources of the English"(11), observes J.Mill, referring to the friendship of Travancore and the Company. The Raja of Travancore was a tributary to the Nawab of Carnatic. The Nawab was in his turn an ally of the English. Therefore, the Raja helped the English to obtain trade monopoly in his territory in lieu of military assistance and ammunitions supplied by them.

---

(8) Fgn.(Misc.) S.No.55, P.8, Para.9.

(9) Logan's: Treaties etc., i, cxxi.

(10) Ibid, LXX.

(11) James Mill: History of British India, Vol.VI, P.325.

With their help he could create a standing army and equip them with modern weapons. He suppressed all the recalcitrant nobles and annexed the small principalities of his kingdom. Thus among the native rulers of Kerala, Travancore became the foremost power in the latter half of 18th century. By this time, the English also emerged as the most important among the European powers in India. The close friendship of these two prevented Haider Ali and later Tipu Sultan in carrying out their scheme of conquest of the whole of Kerala.

### Economic condition.

Agriculture. The arable land in Kerala is divided into highland or dry; plain land or wet; and coastal land or garden land for the purpose of agriculture. Paddy is the staple crop which grows luxuriantly in the deep valleys and wet lands. Paddy was cultivated so extensively that after the local consumption, the surplus rice was exported, during the period under survey. In the garden lands, cocoa and areca palms, the jacktree and pepper vines, betel vines, mango trees, plantations, pineapples and saffron are also grown in addition to many spices and vegetables. By far the most important cultivation in the garden lands is coconut. This tree provides the raw materials for many kinds of manufactured goods for export as well as for local consumption.

But the landed property was in the hands of a few. The condition of the ordinary peasant was deplorable. He was attached to the soil. The merits and evils of the feudal system were in full swing during this period. In the 18th century when there was no question of industrial employment almost the whole population depended upon agriculture. The changes in the agrarian relations and land tenures led to a number of bloody rebellions in Malabar. In fact all the so-called 'Moplah Rebellions' of Malabar had a direct bearing on the agrarian question of Kerala.



Land tenure. The system of land tenure in Kerala was very different from any other part of India. Here the ownership of the land was not with the rulers but with the landlords who were called 'Jenmis'. Major Walker in his 'Report on the Land Tenures of Malabar' made it very clear in 1801, when he said "in no country in the world is the nature of this species of property better understood than in Malabar, nor its rights more tenaciously maintained....The Jenmakaran possesses entire right to the soil and no earthly authority can with justice deprive him of it." (1). In the years 1807 and 1815 when Thackeray and Major Warden submitted their reports to the Board of Revenue, they declared, "the whole of the land in Malabar, cultivated and uncultivated, is private property and held by Jenm right" (2)... (the Jenm right of Malabar vests in the holder an absolute right in the soil" (3). Dr. Buchanan, a careful observer wrote in 1800, the peculiar tradition in the ownership of lands with the Jenmis and gave a detailed description of system of land tenure in his invaluable work. (4).

The Joint Commissioners of Malabar in 1792 reported that the possession of land was of two descriptions. Firstly, Jenm-kaars or free holders who held their lands either by purchase or by hereditary descent and secondly Kanom-kaars or mortgagees to whom an actual delivery of the land appeared to be made although the money taken upon it was not at all proportioned to the value of the land. (5). Kanamdar deposits an amount to the

---

(1) Major Walker's Report on the Land Tenure of Malabar, P.21, Para 12.

(2) Thackeray's Report to the Board of Revenue, dated August 4, 1807.

(3) Warden's Report dated Sept. 12, 1815.

(4) Buchanan, Vol. II, PP. 358-380.

(5) Fgn. (Fisc.) S. No. 56, P. 861.



land lord which was called Kanam. (6). An annual rent 'pattam' is fixed according to the capacity of land and from it the tenant is entitled to deduct the interest due to him on the amount of the kanam; the net balance payable to the Jenni is called 'Purappad' (7). The proprietor always reserved a right of re-assuming the estate whenever he pleased by paying up the sum originally advanced and no allowance was made for improvements. (8). In the kuzhikanom lease, the sum to be expended on improvements is considered the advance made. The 'otti' differs from the Kanom in that the Jenni gets no 'purappad' and the 'ottidar' has the right of pre-emption if the mortgage jenni wishes to sell. The 'panayam' is simple mortgage with or without possession. 'Andaruthipanayam' is a mortgage of which the amount given extinguishes at the expiry of the stipulated period through the usufruct and the land then reverts free of encumbrance to the mortgagor. Verumpatom is a simple lease from year to year.

The peculiar characteristic of the system of land tenure was that the ruler had no right to tax the land nor he was competent to dictate terms on different tenures. The Jennis were feudal overlords without any obligation whatsoever with the rulers. The peculiar nature of the agrarian relations and ownership of the property underwent great changes with the advent of Mysoreans.

Trade and commerce. With the entrance of European powers, trade and commerce received great impetus. Pepper was the important attraction of foreign merchants. Gollennesse, the Dutch Governor of Malabar wrote in 1743, "I put pepper in the first place because the Honourable Company maintains its expensive

---

(6) Ibid. PP.862-3.

(7)

(8) Buchanan, Vol.II, P.367.

establishments on this Coast that belong to that branch of trade"(1). Moens also details out the trade and commerce of the Dutch up to the year 1781 in his 'Memorandum'(2). The list of the English trade contracts are given in 'the letters to Fort St.George, 1765', published by the Madras Record Office.(3).

Though trade and commerce were centred round on pepper and other spices, they traded on many other articles. War materials found an important item in their import to this country, "A candy of pepper for every musket you let me have," was a proposal made by Marthanda Varma to the Anjengo Factors in 1744.(4).

By these trade activities, the importance of certain ancient ports like Cranganore, Porakkat, Kayamkulam and Colachil had dwindled very much and gave place to the rise of new towns and cities like Cochin, Alleppey, Cannanore and Quilon.

But these trade and commerce did not enrich the people in general nor the local rulers benefited much from it. In all the trade contracts, the Rajas promised to supply goods on a lesser price than the market rate in exchange of fire arms. In the first instance compulsory procurement of these commodities and the reason thereby, the cultivator did not get his competitive price for his goods. Secondly the exchange of goods demanded by the rulers were war materials that would in any way might have helped to ameliorate the lot of the subjects.

#### Foreign interest in the area.

The interest of European powers in this area was

---

(1) Gollennesse: Memorandum etc., P.71.

(2) Moens: Memorandum etc., PP.214, 226.

(3) Letters to the Fort St.George, Vol.XLV., PP.63-65

(4) Anjengo Diary, 1744.

motivated by the desire of not only establishing their commercial and colonial supremacy but also carrying on religious propaganda of which no thorough assessment has so far been made. With the advent of Portuguese began their missionary activities. Writing about the Portuguese possessions in India, A Galletti in his introduction to 'The Dutch in Malabar' says, "the towns were not only commercial factories, but Portuguese Colonies and centres of Portuguese civilisation." (1). The Dutch secured protectorate over the Christians when they entered into a treaty with the Raja of Cochin after the fall of Portuguese in 1663 (2). When the English took over the possession of the Dutch, the native Christians who were called the 'Markkarakars' came under the Company's protection as loyal subjects. (3). In fact the English pursued a policy of proselytisation more tactfully. This was done through the agency of Christian missionaries who were liberally patronised by the Company's Government. By these activities they could create loyal supporters.

#### Social conditions.

Caste system and important castes. The division of the society into Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras elsewhere in India, cannot easily be traced in the caste compartments of Kerala. The absence of Vaisyas in the Hindu Society of Kerala is conspicuous and the reason thereby Jews, Christians and Muslims occupy this position as they are traders and merchants of the country. In the caste hierarchy Namboodiri Brahmins come first. Next to them are Nairs. These were the two important castes who were the custodians of religions, customs and political institutions.

All others were polluting castes. The Malayalees follow

---

(1) The Dutch in Malabar (Introduction), P.15.

(2) Treaties - Grandham No. 65.

(3) L. LXV, S.I, include a number of letters dealing with the native Christians.

two kinds of pollutions, viz., atmospheric pollution and pollution by actual contact. Recognised scale of distance was prescribed for each polluting caste to keep away from higher castes. The distance of a 'Nayadi' has to keep away from a high caste was 72 feet, a 'Pulayan', 64 feet, a 'Kaniyan' 36 feet, a 'Mukkuvan', 24 feet, a 'Kammalan' 24 feet, and an Ezhava 18 feet.(1). "If a Chogan or Ezhava, dared to pollute a Nair by approaching nearer than the prescribed distance he was at liberty to cut him down."(2). Buchanan testifies that the Nairs were free to kill any low caste Hindu who did not observe the rule of pollution.(3).

The system totally barred the bulk of the community from exercising their human rights. Jews, Christians and Muslims were not considered having atmospheric pollution. They come under the second category of polluting by touch.(4). This is corroborated by Ibn Battuta and other writers.(5). The society was thus separated into water-tight compartments of castes and the reason thereof the Kerala Hindus lacked cohesion.

#### Namboodiris.

Of the highest caste in Kerala were the Namboodiris. They were respected by all. In approaching a Namboodiri, low-caste people, male and female must uncover to the waist as a token of respect. (6). "His person is holy, his directions are commands, his movements are processions, his meal is nectar, he is the holiest of the human beings, he is the representative of God on earth."(7).

---

(1) W.Logan: Vol.I, P.118.

(2) Buchanan, Vol.II, P.339. - Also see L.A.Ananthakrishna Iyyer: Cochin, Caste and Tribe, P.339.

(3) Buchanan, Vol.I, P.338.

(4) Sheikh Zainuddeen; Tuhfath-ul-Mujahideen, P.82.

(5) Ibn Battuta, P.26.

(6) Logan, Vol.I, P.127-28.

(7) Travancore Census Report, 1874-75, P.191.

Namboodiris are polluted by the touch of all castes below them and by the approach of all lower than Nairs. They follow the 'Makkathayam' (patriarchal) family system and the general rule is that only the eldest son is allowed to contract regular marriage with a Namboodiri woman, the others being restricted to 'Sambandhams'\*, with the Nair women. This is testified by all writers who had dealt with the subject. But the women of their caste were carefully guarded and used to seclusion.

The tradition current in Malabar is that after reclaiming the land from the sea, Parasurama made it a gift to the Namboodiris, hence they are the owners of all lands in Kerala. No other caste was allowed to learn and propagate so that all the learned professions came to be monopolised by them.

Nairs. The term 'Nayar' was originally a designation meaning literary commandant. Buchanan enumerates 12 subdivisions of Nayar caste and gives distinct functions enjoined on each. (8).

Throughout the medieval period, they were the militia of the land. Jonathan Duncan who had visited twice to this place gives a description of the Nair soldier, "who", he says, "walks along holding up his naked sword, with the same kind of unconcern as travellers in other countries carry in their hands a cane or walking staff. I have observed others of them have it fastened to their back, the hilt being stuck in their waste band

---

\* 'Sambandham' was a peculiar kind of irregular marriage where the person cohabits with a Nair lady without having any responsibility to maintain her or the progeny.

(8), Buchanan, Vol.II, pp. 408-9.

and the blade rising up and glittering between their shoulders. (9). They were the professional soldiers of the country. Duarte Barbosa wrote in detail about them. "The Nairs are the gentry", observes Barbosa, "and have no other duty than to carry on war..." (10).

They were organised under 'Taras' which were autonomous bodies resembling to independent principalities. The linguist of the East India Company wrote from Calicut in 1746, "there, Nayars being heads of the Calicut people, resemble the Parliament and do not obey the kings dictates in all things, but chastise his ministers when they do unwarrantable acts." (11). No doubt the kingly power was very much limited by them, at a time when a strong monarchy was a sheer necessity. It was Nairs with the unquestioned right 'to kill and to be killed' prevented the rise of monarchical despotism and paved the way for parcelling the country out into congeries of independent principalities.

The Nairs follow the 'Karanakkathayan' system of inheritance. (Matriarchal system). According to the system the sons and daughters were excluded from inheritance of the properties of their parents whereas the sons of sisters would succeed their uncles' estates (12). Another peculiarity of observance is that they live in undivided families which are called 'Tarawads.' The eldest male member through the maternal line will be the manager of all the Tarawad properties. He was called 'Karanavan' who enjoyed absolute control over the tarawad. The other members were maintained by this property and could succeed in order of seniority to the Karanavanship.

The most curious of all is their marriage system. The Nair ladies were at liberty to receive and divorce any number

---

(9) Asiatic Research, Vol.V, P.10 and 18.

(10) Duarte Barbosa: Op.Cit., P.124.

(11) T.F.R.: May 20, 1746.

(12) Fgn.(Misc.) S.No. 55, PP.11-12, Para.10

of men at their will and pleasure.(13). There was no legal marriage amongst them. Barbosa observes, "Nairs are not married nor maintain women or children; their nephews, the sons of their sisters are their heirs, the Nair women are all accustomed to do with themselves what they please with Brahmins or Nairs but not with other people of lower class under pain of death..."(14). The Malabar Commissioners in 1792 remarked "their women mix freely with men and have conjugal relations with many of their caste and the high caste Nambooliris. The reason for the sons of sisters inheriting the property is therefore very clear..."(15) This observation is substantially supported by all writers.(16).

Thus the form of conjugal relations then prevalent became polyandry in practice. Buchanan describing the system says that if a Nair woman tells that she has connection with a number of men, this will not diminish her status in the society. On the other hand, it was considered a matter of prestige if she can count some Brahmins and Chieftains among her many paramours.(17). It was against these political privileges and caste usages, Haidar Ali and later Tipu Sultan had to encounter with.

Ezhavas. The Thiyyas or Ezhavas are numerically the largest single caste among the Hindu community. According to the census report of 1961, their population has been estimated to

---

(13) Ibid, P.13.

(14) Barbosa: Op.Cit., P.124.

(15) Fgn.(Misc.) S.No. 55, P.13.

(16) See the following: Hamilton: New Account of the East Indies, Vol.I, P.310; Buchanan, Vol.II, PP 410-12; Sheik Zainuddeen: O.Cit., P.73; Abdul Rezaak: Travels, Vol.II, P.354; Nicolo Conti: Travels, P.145.

(17) Buchanan, Vol.II, P.472.

be over 35,83,000 which is 21.2% of the total population of the State and more than 38% of the Hindus taken as a whole. (18). It was till some thirty or forty years ago, this caste was totally barred from all social gatherings and were denied of entering into the suburbs of temples and towns. (19). Buchanan found them as industrious labourers and toddy-tappers in the year 1800 (20). But as they were a polluting caste this community was ignored in the political or religious affairs. They follow Lakkathayam in the South and Marumakkathayam in the North. Their condition was comparatively better than the low castes.

Low-caste Hindus. In this category comes a number of castes and sub-castes. Mukkuvans, a caste of fishermen, rank below the Thiyyans. Next to them comes the artisan caste known as 'Kammalans.' They were divided into five sub-castes each with its appropriate craft, namely 'Thatans' or goldsmiths, 'Kollan' or blacksmith, 'Mussaris' or braziers, 'Aarais' or carpenters and 'Chempottis' or Coppersmiths. The 'Kanisans' or village astronomers, the 'Vennans' or the washermen caste and the 'Kavaras' or the basket makers are some other castes who are below the above castes. In the lowest cadre of the caste hierarchy lay the 'Cherumans', 'Pulayas', 'Parayas', 'Panans' and other aboriginal castes. Buchanan and others call them slaves. "The chorumar, parayer and other low castes" writes the Joint Commissioners of Malabar in the year 1792, "are attached to the lands and were sold like slaves. When properties are sold these villans who were sold by the Nair and Namboodiri landlords." (21).

Since no other community except Brahmins and Nairs did get a tolerably good description of their ancient and medieval past,

---

(18) Kumara Pillai Report, 1968, P.47.

(19) See "Cochin: Tribes and Castes", PP.339-40 and Nayan Ayya: Travancore State Manual, Vol.II, P.412.

(20) Buchanan, Vol.II, PP.415-18.

(21) Reg. (Fisc.) S.No. 55, P.14, Para.14.



no wonder these slave people found no place in the history of this part of the country. Their condition was deplorable. Buchanan appeals to the Company the ways and means to ameliorate them from their pitiable plight. (22). The rest of the society condemned them, but exploited them for their own good.

#### Other communities.

Jews:- Of all the foreigners Jews are the most ancient inhabitants (23). Their origin and time of arrival are buried in obscurity. But the Jews claim that they had an independent principality at Cranganore. This Jewish Kingdom was esteemed by Jews all over the world. Thus sang Rabbi Nissim, a 14th century Hebrew poet and traveller:

\*I travelled from Spain,  
I have heard the City of Shingly\*,  
I longed to see an Isreali King,  
Him I saw with my own eyes." (24).

But Moens doubts this claim on the ground that no trace of the existence of a Jewish Kingdom was to be found. (25). The remnants of the Jewish ascendancy in this part can be traced from certain names extant in this area even now. A small hill known as 'Juda-kunnu' (Juda means Jews, Kunnu, hill), a tank known as 'Judakulam' near Cranganore, a street known as 'Uda street' at Ernakulam, and a town known as 'Uda town' at Cochin, are all the evidences to refute the contention of Moens that no trace of their existence remained in these places.

The Jews in Kerala are divided into two: The White Jews and the Black Jews. The former are the descendants of the immigrants from Europe, Turkey, Persia and Arabia and the latter are converts from the indigenous people. They are a commercial community. They did not play any important role during the period under review.

---

(22) Buchanan, Vol.II, PP.370-72.

(23) Moens: Memorandum etc., P.192.

\*22\* \*Shingly was the name given to Cranganore by the Jews.

(24) Quoted by S.Kodur in his article 'Kerala and her Jews; History on the March, P.167.

(25) Moens: Op.Cit., P.196;

**Christians.** There are four chief sects of Christians in Kerala namely Syrians, Romo-Syrians, Roman Catholics, and Protestants. The first two are called the old Christians and the last two new Christians. The old Christians are called the Christians of Mar Thoma or St. Thomas from the prevalence of a tradition that Christianity was introduced by the Apostle himself. This tradition of St. Thomas alighting on the shores of Cranganore in 52 A.D. and succeeding to convert some of the natives and building some churches are endorsed by Moens and Buchanan among other writers. (26)

Immediately after the advent of the Portuguese, the Christians of Malabar went to them making advances for support and protection (27). The Portuguese at first extended their patronage but later tried to harass them on the ground that they were not Latin Catholics. (28). With the advent of the Protestant Dutch in the latter half of 17th century, the Protestant Christians established their independent Church. From this time the Christians were divided into Romo-Syrian or Pazhaya Kuru, and the Jacobite Syrians or Puttan kuru.

With the supremacy of foreign powers the Christians in the Malabar Coast received special considerations as the "Company's subjects". Most of them found an identity of their religious susceptibilities with the ruling class. Foreign powers also thought to encourage them by all possible means, because by this device they could create a section of Malayalees to support their Governments as loyal subjects.

**Muslims.** The religion of Islam spread rapidly in the Malabar Coast through the agency of Arab merchants who poured into this country in abundance from an early date. Traditions claim that

---

(26) Moens: P.171; Buchanan, Vol.II, PP.391-92.

(27) H.Logan, Vol.I, P.206.

(28)

the last of the Malabar emperors, the famous Cheraman Perumal, had so great a respect to Islam that he not only supposed to have embraced it (29) and tried to spread it among the subjects, but went in the 8th century to Mecca and from there sent letters to the Malabar rulers requiring them to favour the Muslim missionaries in everything. (30). The low caste Hindus considered the conversion as an emancipation from caste slavery and prejudices. Barbosa writing in the 16th century remarks: "If the King of Portugal had not discovered India, Malabar would already have been in the hands of the Moors, and would have had a Moorish King." (31).

The Muslims of Kerala are called Mopilahs. This was a title conferred on the favourites by the ruling Rajas which was followed as a matter of privilege by the posterity. The word 'Mopilah' is a contraction of Maha (Great) and pillai (child). (32). The Nairs of Travancore even now use this honourary title of Pillai with their names.

All writers agree that till the advent of the Portuguese, Muslims were a privileged community and were highly esteemed by the rulers and the people alike. Moens says, "the greatest number of Moors are found in the kingdom of Zamorin, where they swam, and where they have generally had a finger in the Government... (33). The establishment of a Muslim kingdom at Cannanore and its important role in the latter half of 18th century are matters that require special treatment. Aly Raja of Cannanore invited Haider Ali to invade Malabar and helped him in his designs. (34). Muslims as a whole supported the Mysoreans in their wars and

---

(29) Fgn. (Misc.) S.No. 55, P.4, Para.4.

(30) Moens: Memorandum etc., P.199.

(31) Barbosa: Op.Cit., P.321.

(32) Hamid Ali: Mopilas, Chapter XXIII.

(33) Moens: Op.Cit., P.199.

(34) Fgn. (Misc.) S.No. 55, P.21, Para.20

administration. Since Muslims as a community fought against the English with Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan, they were penalised by them when the Company established their Government.

\*\*\*

## **C H A P T E R     I**

### **CAUSES FOR THE INVASION**

It was only after Haider Ali had assumed control of the Mysore kingdom that he undertook the invasion of Malabar in the year 1766 (1). The following reasons were ostensibly assigned to this action by the new ruler of Mysore. Firstly to collect the war indemnity from the Zamorin of Kozhikode, secondly to realise the debt due from the Raja of Chirakal to the Raja of Neelasswaram by virtue of conquest of that country Haider claimed it, thirdly to punish the Raja of Travancore for evading to pay compensation for the military preparations Haider made on his behalf and lastly to make use of an invitation sent to him for conquering the country by the Aly Raja of Cannanore and Capu Thampun, one of the scions of the Kolatiri family. But the actual cause was that Haider Ali wanted to enlarge his sphere of influence and to obtain his suzerainty over this resourceful country with many natural harbours that were centres of world contact.

Haider Ali, who was waiting for an opportunity to interfere in Kerala politics, got it through the agency of the Raja of Palghat when his territory was conquered by the Zamorin of

---

(1) Fgn. (Fisc.) S.No. 56, Part I, Voucher No.4, P.65.

Kozhikode (2). Komi Achan, the Palghat Raja, in his extremity appealed to Haider Ali, then Faujdar of Dindigal for military aid when Zamorin was marching against him. Haider Ali, accordingly sent a force of 2000 horse and 5000 infantry under his brother-in-law Makhdum Saheb. This force aided by Palghat Nairs carried their arms as far the gates of Zamorin's Capital.(3). The Zamorin's force fell back and he bought off his opponents by agreeing to restore his Palghat conquests and by promising to pay a war indemnity of 12 lakhs of rupees.(4). But Zamorin taking advantage of the dissensions in the Mysore capital opened negotiations with Dev Raj, one of the Ministers of the Mysore Raja with the request that he would directly pay the amount to the Mysore Government instead of paying to Haider Ali. Dev Raj who was jealous of the rising fortune of Haider Ali, agreed that the Zamorin would pay the promised amount to him through his agents and he would cause the recall of Haider Ali's army from his Kingdom.(5). Accordingly, Dev Raj required his Rajput Chief Hari Singh to proceed to Calicut for the realisation of the amount from Zamorin. Haider Ali withdrew his army, respecting the command from Dev Raj.

But Hari Singh, before he could realise the amount from Zamorin, returned hurriedly to Seringapatam on hearing the death of his patron Dev Raj on June 19, 1758.(6).

Even on this event different views are expressed by our historians. K.M. Panicker is of opinion that Haider Ali's army

---

(2) Buchanan, Vol.II, P.350.

(3) W.Logan: Malabar Manual, Vol.I, P.402.

(4) N.K. Sinha: Haider Ali, Vol.I, P.255.

(5) Logan: Op.Cit., P.402.

(6) Ibid.

returned from Calicut after receiving the first instalment of the promised amount from the Zamorin and that Haider Ali connived to cause the murder of Hari Singh on his way back to Seringapatam. (7). This is not correct. The fact that the Zamorin did not pay a single pie to Haider Ali is sufficiently substantiated with evidences by W.Logan, in his Malabar Manual and Prof.N.K.Sinha, in his 'Haider Ali'. (8). To say that Hari Singh was treacherously murdered by Makhdum Saheb under the orders of Haider Ali is also a partial historical truth. That Hari Singh met his death at the hands of Makhdum is true, but the circumstances under which it was executed is quite different. One of the contemporary writers, Mir Husain Ali Khan Kirmani, narrates this event in detail in his 'Nishan-i-Haidari'. He says that Hari Singh made the Delwai Bundi Raj in arrest and prevented even water for kitchen use. On witnessing these occurrences Haider with the permission of the Delwai defeated Hari Singh. (9). The author continues that Delwai was so pleased that with the exception of the money and articles belonging to himself, presented the whole of the plunder to Haider Ali "whose prudence in this action acquired for him great renown" (10).

The Zamorin calculated that since the internal conditions of Mysore were unstable he could avoid paying the stipulated amount. But the claim to this war subsidy was never relinquished by Haider Ali and to recover the same was one of his objects in invading Malabar.

---

(7) K.M. Panicker: Freedom Struggle of Kerala, P.421.

(8) W.Logan: Op.Cit., P.402;

Prof.N.K. Sinha: Haider Ali, Vol.I, P.255.

(9) Kirmani: Nishan-i-Haidari (Miles), P.41.

(10) Ibid.

When Canara became a part of his Kingdom by conquest, Haider Ali espoused the claim of the vanquished ruler of the place over the Kolatiri Raja who had to pay two lakhs of pagodas to the late ruler of Canara.(11). When the English Company's agents met him at Bednore and requested him to desist from attacking the Company's ally, the Raja of Kolatiri, Haider promised to do so if the Raja were to pay two lakhs pagodas due from him to the Bednore Government.(12). As this claim was overlooked by the Kolatiri Raja, Haider Ali determined to realise it by force and made it one of his ostensible reasons to invade the country.

But Haider Ali's grievance against the Raja of Travancore was long standing. His attention was drawn to this part of the country when he was only an officer in the Mysore army in 1751, when Marthanda Varma of Travancore requested his assistance for the suppression of his refractory Nair nobles(13). Haider Ali promised to send a powerful army and made necessary military preparations for the purpose. The news of Haider Ali's military support alarmed the nobles and frightened them into submission to the Rajas.(14). The immediate submission of Nair nobility of Travancore freed the Raja from the threatened internal disorder and danger and he therefore declined to accept the assistance and intimated Haider Ali accordingly. But Haider Ali claimed the expenses he had incurred in this respect and the Raja was held liable for the loss of money due to this(15). When this claim was not met with, Haider Ali decided to wait and watch

---

(11) T.F.R.: March 10, 1766; Cons.April 2, 1766.

(12) Ibid.

(13) N.K. Sinha: Haider Ali, Vol.I, P.262.

(14) P.K.S. Raja: Medieval Kerala, P.211.

(15) Memoranda Moens: Memorandum etc., P.154.



the course of events and wreck his vengeance when opportunity would arise.

To facilitate matters for him the Aly Raja of Cannanore and Kappu Thampan of the Kobatiri family now invited him to invade the country to settle old scores.(16). Aly Raja was the only Muslim ruler in Kerala who might have thought better for his prospects if Haider Ali conquered the country.(17). The relation of Aly Raja with the rulers of Malabar was also not friendly. This Mopilah royal family of Cannanore was respected by the rest of the Muslim community of Malabar and in whose rise they found shelter and the Nair community felt envied, the result of which was continuous skirmishes and open fights between these communities.(18). The Malabar Joint Commissioners in their Report give a number of instances that led to bloody massacres and open riots.(19). The story of this development is described by the author of 'the History of Hyder Shah and of his son Tippoo Sultan',(20). He says that the Mopilahs who grew rich by the monopoly of trade and commerce were envied by the Nairs who often found impossible to repay the money advanced to them and that due to organised conspiracies more than 6000 Mopilahs were massacred by them on an appointed day.(21). He continues to say, "the Mopilahs in their distress, hastened to send deputies to Hyder, to inform him of the catastrophe and implore his protection....."(22).

Haider Ali might have apparently espoused the cause of the Muslims of Malabar. In this respect, Haider Ali, as any

---

(16) Fgn.(Misc.) S.No. 55, P.21, Para.20.

(17) Ibid.

(18) M.M.D.L.T.: History of Hyder Shah etc., pp.64-66.

(19) Fgn.(Misc.) S.No. 55, P.242, Para.263; pp.260-61, Para.281.

(20) M.M.P.L.T.: Op.Cit., pp.62-68.

(21) Ibid, P.65.

(22) Ibid, P.66.

"other prudent invader would consider the help of a large section of the people of the country that he intended to conquer, might have thought it helpful in minimising his task to a great extent.\* Therefore he gladly accepted the invitation of Aly Raja and Cappu Thampar to conquer the country which he himself was awaiting for a favourable opportunity. Cappu Thampar was one of the junior members of the Kolatiri family who was irreconcilable with the ruling prince - the Prince Regent of Chirakal. He wanted assistance from outside and sided with Aly Raja to fulfil his ambition of becoming the ruler of Kolatiri Kingdom. This was also a favourable situation for Haider Ali.

These were the outward reasons put by Haider Ali to justify his conquest of Malabar. But by far the most important cause was that Malabar became particularly important for him when he became ruler of Mysore. For the existence of his military Government, he had to procure equipments, horses and fire-arms, from outside India for which easy access to the sea with ports and harbours was felt imperative. The political development

---

\* To say that Haider Ali conquered Malabar due to the only reason of getting the grievances of Muslims redressed as the author of 'the History of Hyder Shah etc.' claims, is not correct. The writer of this book falls in line with the other English authors who try to create a sound background to explain away their allegations of religious bigotry of the Mysore Nawabs. Many a literature have come down to us, the authenticity of many of them are critically and reasonably treated by Prof. Mohibbul Hasan Khan in his work 'History of Tipu Sultan' (Appendix E, Bibliography, PP.396-401). If one can establish that Haider Ali conquered Kerala only because he felt grieved by the plight of the Mussalman Community of Malabar, then as a corollary one should be convinced easily that Haider Ali and his son Tipu Sultan might have committed religious atrocities.

and the balance of power made him believe that he could not safely depend on the friendship of the English. Therefore, Haider Ali cherished to have intimate contact with the French power in India. Thus it was unavoidable for him to possess an independent and unmolested access to the ports in the West Coast. Since Pondicherry was far away from Mysore and since the Nawab of Carnatic, Mohamed Ali was Haider's enemy whose territory lay between Mysore and Pondicherry thus making the inter-communication too difficult a process, Haider turned to the West Coast. He would be in a position to have constant contact with Mahe, the French pocket in the Malabar Coast, for all practical purposes in his relations with the French. The most important cause for undertaking the invasion of Malabar by Haider Ali was to ensure the control of the means of communications and lands leading to Mahe, the French possession in Kerala. Thus Haider Ali in all aspects was motivated more by political considerations and the least by religious regards in conquering Kerala. To say otherwise will be quite unhistoric.

#### Conquest.

Haider Ali conquered Canara in 1763 (1) and thus became a neighbour of the Malabar Coast. Aly Raja of Cannanore, whose principality formed the southern boundary of Canara, met him on a deputation and invited him to conquer Malabar (2). Haider who was very keen to form a fleet took advantage of the invitation of Aly Raja who had a number of well-equipped vessels at sea, appointed him his High Admiral and his brother Sheik Aly, Intendent of the marine. (3). Thus preparing himself a ground for substantial support he sent a Brahmin envoy - Anand Raw - to Malabar to acquaint with the political developments of the place and intimate to the English, the French and the Dutch of his desire to conquering Malabar. (4). He requested the English to help him with four or five hundred soldiers and sufficient arms. (5). When the Tellichery Factors declined,

---

(1) M.M.D.L.T.: History of Hyder Shah etc., P.62.

(2) Fgn.(Misc.) S.No. 55, P.21.

(3) M.M.D.L.T., Op.Cit., P.62.

(4) T.F.R., dated Oct.26, 1764 - Tellichery to Bombay -  
Cons. Nov.15, 1764.

(5) Ibid.

Haider required them to at least not object to his subjugation of the Malabar princes, to which also the Factors could not agree. (6).

The Tellicherry Settlement was in alliance with a number of Malabar Princes. They entered into a treaty of friendship with the Raja of Chirakal on April 21, 1757. By this treaty, the Raja had been promised help if he was attacked. (7) But the English found it very difficult to extend their open support when the Raja required it as it would lead to an open war with Haider Ali, which they were not prepared at that time. (8). Therefore the English decided to help the Raja only secretly. (9). At the same time the Company's representatives when they heard in December 1765, about Haider's preparations to conquer Malabar met him at Bedanore with the demand that all the trade privileges granted to the Company by the several Malabar Rajas would be confirmed. Haider issued a firman on February 23, 1766 granting all the trade privileges enjoyed by them. (10). Thus the Tellicherry Factors were fully alive to the fact that Haider Ali's invasion of Malabar was only a question of time. (11).

During the month of February 1766, Haider Ali reached

---

(6) Ibid, Nov.14, 1764, Tellicherry to Bombay -  
Cons. Nov.28, 1764.

(7) Ibid, Aug.24, 1763; Ibid, Cons. Sent. 24, 1763.

(8) Fgn.and Home Department - 1756-80, Secret Cons.No.1

(9) Board's Minute - Cons. April 4, 1766.

(10) C.U.Aitchison: Treaties etc., Vol. IX, No. XXXVI,  
PP.195-6.

(11) W.Logan: Malabar Manual, Vol.I, P.403.

Mangalore with an army of 12000 of his best troops\* of which 4000 were cavalry and the rest infantry and began his march to the Coast of Malabar directing his route by Mangalore and Cannanore (12). Haider Ali reaching Cannanore was received by Aly Raja with not less than 12000 soldiers of whom the Author of 'the History of Hyder Shah etc.' speaks "ill-armed.....but superior in courage to Nairs"(13). Haider was very much pleased with his conduct and "by presents and kindness gained his confidence because the Chief was known to be well-acquainted with secrets of the country, he associated him in his plans." (14).

The combined army marched against the Kolatiri family in the month of February 1766. (15). The opposition was not serious. The Raja of Chirakal was soon defeated and slain. His son who was only seven years old was adopted by Haider (16), and was named Iyas Khan (17). Aly Raja and his men siezed their palace at Chirakal. Some members of the royal family with their attendants took refuge in the Brass Pagoda within Tellichery limits. (18).

---

\*There are different versions about the strength of Haider's army. K.M. Panicker calculates "over 40,000 soldiers among whom were 10,000 cavalry and the rest infantry" (Freed Struggle of Kerala, p.430). He claims for his authority on Dutch records. Moens, the then Dutch Governor who is expected to speak more authoritatively about the Dutch Documents neither mention the number of Haider's army nor K.M.Panicker himself points out his authority on any particular Dutch record which he claims to have consulted. It can be reasonably pointed out that in 1756, Makhdum Saheb, could defeat the Zamorin who was the most powerful ruler of Malabar with an army of only 5000 men of which 2000 were cavalry. Reiterating the strength of Haider's army to 12,000, the Author of 'the History of Hyder Shah etc.', writes ".....since the Nabob who had .... brought no more than twelve thousand men with him; it was to be presumed, that he was certain that the number he had brought was sufficient to defeat his enemies." (N.M.D.L.T.: Op.Cit., p.68).

(12) Ibid, P.66. (13) Ibid, P.66.

(14) Kirmani: Nishan-i-Haidari, P.184.

(15) Fgn.(Misc.) S.No. 55, PP.18-9.

(16) For a fuller treatment see 'History of Tipu Sultan' by Mohibbul Hasan Khan, Foot note of page 32.

(17) Kirmani: Op.Cit.P.184. (18) V.Logan: Malabar Manual, Vol.I, P.405.

The Mysore army moved towards Kottayam where the ruling prince and his nobles had already left the place. After the occupation of Chirakkal and Kottayam the triumphant army marched southward aiming at the principality of Kadattnad, where for the first time Haider met an organised and serious opposition. To enter into the territory, the Mysorean army had to cross the Mahe river. But in the southern bank of the river, the Malayalee princes strongly posted their Nair militia. Haider Ali appraised the situation a difficult one. Here he employed one of the rare tactics of warfare in surprising his enemy by crossing the river with his cavalry. (19). He left his infantry in the northern bank of the river and required them to pretend to enter into the fleet kept ready for crossing the river. At the same time, Haider with his cavalry traversed the river at a distance, "sometimes swimming and sometimes wading, he came to the other side where the Nairs were buried in attempting to oppose the infantry, who pretended to be on the point of passing over." (20).

The Nairs were frightened at the sudden appearance of the cavalry\* and fled with the "utmost precipitation and

---

(19) M.H.D.L.T., Op.Cit., P.69.

(20) Ibid.

\*The cause for this complete rout of Nair Militia is assigned by our historians in different ways. K.M.Panicker is of opinion that cavalry was totally unknown to the Nairs and that they were panic-stricken at its sight and that this was the cause for their rout. ('Freedom Struggle of Kerala', P.438). To say that cavalry was unknown to the rulers of Kerala is not correct. K.M.Panicker himself writes in his book 'Malabar and the Dutch' that Marthanda Varma of Travancore employed cavalry even before 1750. We have seen in 1756-57, when Haider Ali sent his brother-in-law to help the Raja of Palghat, his force included 2000 cavalry.

disorder" (21). Haider ordered to pursue the fugitives who had escaped into the jungles and hills. They were combed out. Many of them were killed and much more were taken prisoners. (22). Thus the Nairs who were no match for disciplined troops in open fight were defeated on the sole occasion on which they attempted in force to oppose Haider Ali. Evaluating the military achievements of Haider Ali over the Nair princes of Kerala Prof.N.K. Sinha, observes, "the conquest of Malabar was perhaps Haider's most arduous feat of arms." (23).

This was the first and the last opposition Haider Ali had to encounter with, in his conquest of Malabar. From Kadattanad, Haider Ali sent his deputies with the offer of peace to the Zamorin and other princes (24). Zamorin at first sent away the envoys of Haider Ali "with utmost contempt" (25). But the situation changed very much then, after the flight of the combined forces that opposed Haider near the banks of the Mahe river. Zamorin prepared to submit before the conqueror and informed him accordingly. (26). Haider, it is reported, received him cordially and promised to restore his dominions on condition of paying an annual tribute as soon as his subjects have laid down their arms. (27); This is corroborated by Kirmani who says, "the Nawab from convenience and policy....honoured the Chief with a Kawnama ..... gave him his life and property and forgave his offences." (28). Thus an agreement was reached

---

(21) Wilks: Vol.I, P.290.

(22) Ibid, P.291.

(23) N.K. Sinha: Haider Ali, Vol.I, P.250.

(24) Moens: Memorandum etc., P.132.

(25) Ibid, P.133.

(26) M.N.D.L.T.: P.70.

(27) Ibid, P.71.

(28) Kirmani: Nishan-i-Haidari, P.184.

between Haidar Ali and Zamorin to the effect that the former would not conquer Calicut on payment of the arrears and the war indemnity and the latter agreed to pay the stipulated amount. (29).

But the Zamorin returning to his palace committed suicide. (30). He set his palace on fire and burnt himself to death. (31). The cause for this tragic end of a ruling prince of the renowned dynasty of Malabar was that Haidar Ali demanded to pay him ready cash the agreed amount of a crore of gold mohrs (32), as he was not prepared to listen for any other adjustment, to which the Zamorin pleaded his inability to comply with due to want of sufficient money. Since he had no other alternative, he ended his life with the palace and people therein.

The position was such that no one can accuse either the Zamorin or Haidar Ali for creating a situation leading to such a crisis. Both of them had their own justifications. Haidar Ali might be adamant in his demand and refused to believe the Zamorin, because of his past experience of breach of contract from the predecessor of this prince who evaded in paying the promised amount of twelve lakhs of rupees in the year 1757, as war indemnity. At the same time the Zamorin might not be in a position to pay off his arrears, tribute money and war expenses. The rulers of Kozhikode were always in financial difficulties. As early as 1723, in the negotiations of peace with the Dutch, fell through for the time being over the question of the amount of indemnity, "The Zamorin asserting that he had no cash...." (33). As we know it that the Zamorin could not pay the war indemnity of 12 lakhs of rupees to Haidar Ali as was agreed upon between himself and Makhdum Ali, the realisation of which was one of the

---

(29) M.M.D.L.T., P.71.

(30) Moens: P.133.

(31) Fgn. (Misc.) S.No. 55, P.19.

(32) Jonathan Duncan: Asiatic Researches, V, P.30.

(33) D.R.: No.13, P.21, and P.133.



ostensible causes of Haider Ali's invasion. Again when the Zamorin was re-instated in 1768, on a definite condition of annual tribute, he fell in arrears and consequent to this, he was removed from the office in the year 1773.(34). Same was repeated when the English experimented with the Zamorin by bestowing his Kingdom under his management after the Treaty of Seringapatam.(35). Thus Zamorin might not have been in a position to clear his financial commitments with the conqueror.

Several reasons were brought out by different writers about this tragic event. The popular version accepted by most of our historians is the opinion of Jonathan Duncan, who was President of the 'First Malabar Commission' in 1792 and afterwards the Governor of Bombay. He writes that the Zamorin was sent under a guard of 500 horses and 2000 infantry to the Fort of Calicut, and that the Raja was confined in his own house without food and was strictly prohibited from performing the ceremonies of his religion. He continues to say that as the Zamorin thought that Haider might inflict some further disgrace upon him, either by causing him hanged, or blown from a gun, he set fire to the house with his own hand and was consumed in it.(36). Moens says that the prince in fear of his life set his palace on fire and burnt to death.(37). Modern writers in their speculation contribute some other reasons also to narrate

---

(34) D.R.: No.13, P.133.

(35) W.Logan: Vol.I, P.492.

(36) Asiatic Researches, V, PP. 30-31.

(37) Moens: 'Memorandum etc.', P.133.

unfortunate incident.\* But another contemporary writer asserts that the Zamorin ended his life on account of some letters he received from his nephews and the Rajas of Travancore and Cochin. He writes, "these letters contained the bitterest reproaches and execrations, treating as the betrayer of his country and apostate to his religion, which he had abandoned to the Muhammedans. The Brahmin who had conveyed these letters to him, avowed to him at the same time that he was degraded and excluded from his caste and that all the Brahmins and the Nayars had sworn never to have any communication with him." (38). This statement also does not fully comprehend the case. The Raja of Travancore was a tributary to Mohamed Ali, the Nawab of Carnatic, and the Raja of Palghat sought assistance from Haider Ali to repel Zamorin from his territory and the Raja of Cochin was negotiating through the Dutch Governor Moens for becoming a tributary to Haider Ali to save himself from the impending invasion, are all examples to show that Zamorin committed suicide not because of any fear of excommunication.

---

\*Prof.K.V.Krishna Iyyer in his 'Zamorins of Kozhikode' says that when his position became weaker and weaker, his determination not to accept defeat from the hands of Muhammedan invader also became stronger and stronger and that he decided therefore, to destroy himself with the Fort that had never opened its gates to an invader since its inception and accordingly set fire to the palace. (The Zamorins of Kozhikode', P.240). K.M. Panicker finds one more reason that the Zamorin might have reasonably apprehended that he might be converted to Islam and that he did a heroic deed of committing suicide that was quite appropriate to the time. ('Freedom Struggle of Kerala', P.434)

(38) M.M.D.L.T: History of Hyder Shah etc., P.71.

With the death of the ruling prince of Calicut under this tragic circumstances the country lay before the conqueror without any opposition. Haider Ali thus occupied the whole of Malabar without much difficulty. The only one of those Chiefs who appears to have remained unaffected by the general overthrow was the Rair of Coringotté who under the auspices and protection of the French Government of Mahe went out and met Haider on his march from Cherikal to Calicut. (39). It appears that Haider equally respected the district or Mandaterra which was under the possession of the Tellichery Factory. (40).

Though he respected the territorial integrity of the English possession in Malabar he was not pleased with their conduct who gave protection to the fugitive princes. His indignation was openly expressed to the Dutch Commandant who met him at Calicut for negotiations with him as regards to the Cochin territory. (41). The Dutch records claim that Haider Ali proposed an offensive and defensive alliance with them to deprive the English from Malabar Coast. (42). The English also regarded the trade privileges confirmed by him to their Company as merely a pretension "to amuse and prevent our interfering in his schemes of conquest." (43). But they were not in a position to come into an open rupture with Haider Ali as is manifested by the letters received from Madras Government advising the Bombay Council not to enter into an open conflict. (44).

The efforts of the Dutch to purchase immunity for Cochin from invasion were successful. Haider Ali agreed for a subsidy of two lakhs of rupees and eight elephants. (45). But the

---

(39) Fgn. (Misc.) S.No. 55, PP.18-19.

(40) Ibid, P.19.

(41) D.R.No. 13, P.153.

(42) Ibid, P. 153-54.

(43) Board's Minute, Cons., April 4, 1766.

(44) Vide supra - Reference No. 8.

(45) D.R.: No.13, PP.153-54.

Raja of Travancore strong in the assurance of the English support objected to contribute anything on the ground that he was already tributary to the Nawab Mohamed Ali and that he could not afford to subsidise two suzerains at the same time.(46). Moens says that Haider Ali dictating terms for immunity from invasion of Cochin and Travancore told them that "they should prevail on Travancore also to pay a substantial sum." (47) Haider Ali is reported to have added that if the latter was not inclined to pay "he would pay him a visit." (48).

But the proposed 'visit' was averted by the Monsoon that had set in by that time. After putting garrisons at Calicut and Ponnani, Haider bestowed the Government of this conquered territory on Madanna, an experienced revenue officer, as Civil Governor of the place.(49). Aly Raja of Cannanore was required to administer the affairs of the Kolatiri Kingdom of Chirakal.(50). The rainy season which is very tempetuous on the Coast of Malabar began to appear and obliged Haider Ali to quit the place, but in order to be at hand to watch ~~his~~ new conquest he retired only to Coimbatore.(51).

Thus the attempt of Haider Ali to conquer Kerala was a great success. This was an important acquisition for him, "as it gave him a long Coast and made him a sea-power"(52).

The over-throw of the Malayalee princes and the conquest of their hereditary principalities, were completed within a

---

(46) Logan: Vol.I, PP.408-409.

(47) Moens: 'Memorandu etc', P.154.

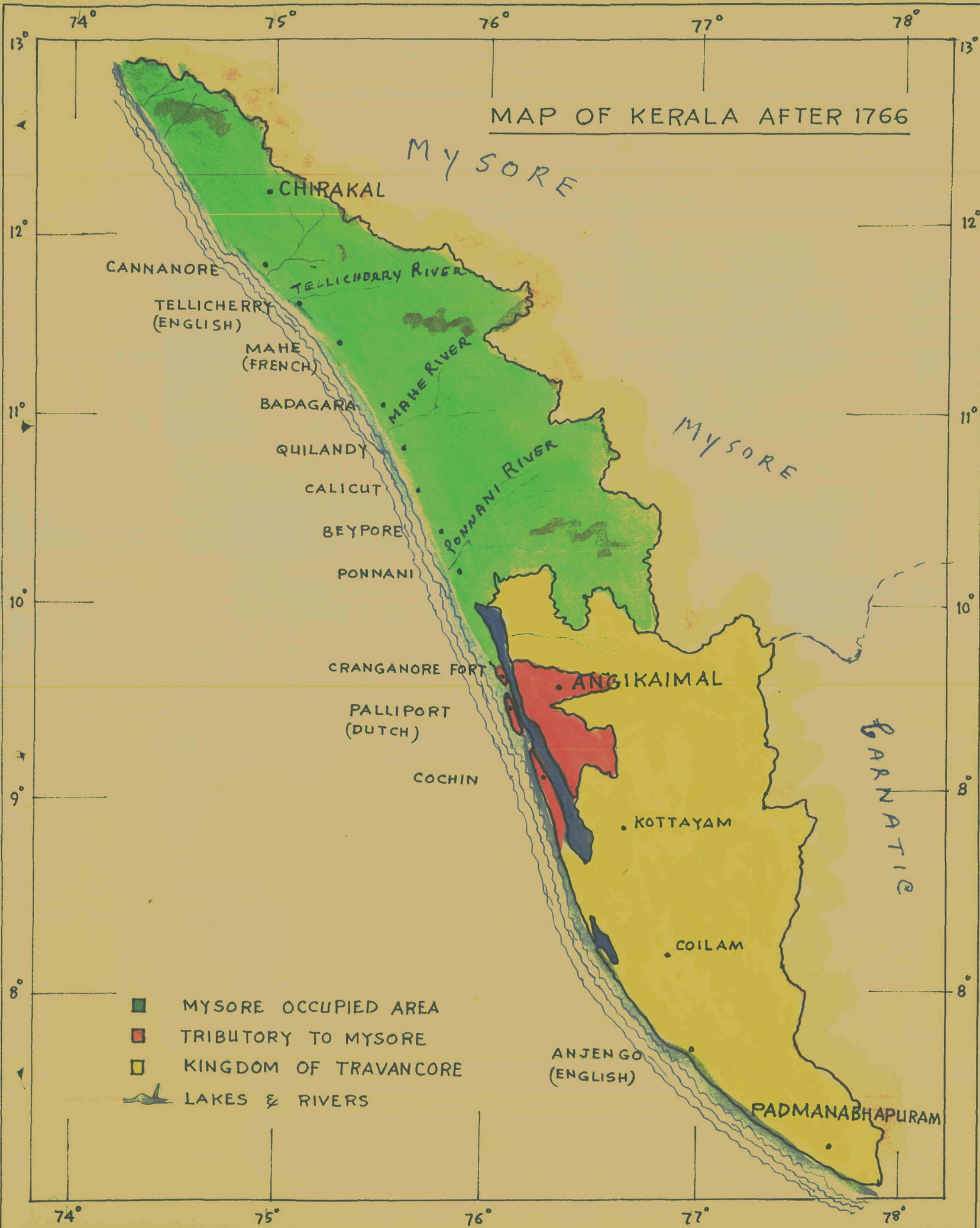
(48) Ibid.

(49) Logan: Vol.I, P.411.

(50) Fgn.(Misc.) S.No. 55, P.21, Para.20.

(51) M.M.D.L.T.: History of Hyder Shah etc., P.72.

(52) Sheik Ali: British Relations with Haider Ali, P.48.



period of four months. It was made easy to him on account of the disintegrated political condition of Malabar and the mode of warfare practised by the Nair militia. The defeat was certain under the disunited political set up of the country of which Professor F.K. Sinha comments, "it would not have been possible but for the complete disunion that prevailed among the fighting section of the people - the Nairs." (53). The superior military force with up-to-date war materials and the prowess of its leader on one side and the lack of disciplined and organised composition and want of centralised leadership on the other side made the failure of Kerala princes. The Nair soldiers lacked the essential quality of cohesion and combined effort because they were not used to a disciplined and organised army movement. They could fight in a single combat and put up a nice show of their valour and courage but on the face of a trained and disciplined force they failed miserably. This mode of warfare and want of organisation caused their rout and lessened the task of the conqueror.

#### Rebellion of 1766 A.D.

Haider Ali returned from Malabar, after its conquest in the first week of June, 1766 without effecting his proposed scheme of "paying a visit" to the Travancore State. (1). It was due to the impending rainy season that would convert even the smallest rivulets into large rivers and would cut away all the inland communications and would place insurmountable obstacles for military movements. Therefore, he retraced his steps to Coimbatore after leaving an army of 3000 men under his military commandant Raza Sahab\*, at Kadakkara, a place bordering Coimbatore where he stayed with the rest of his army to 'watch his

---

(53) F.K. Sinha: Haider Ali, Vol.I, P.250.

\* (1) Andrien Moens: Memorandum on the Administration of the Malabar Coast, P.132.

\* Raza Sahab or Raja Sahab was the son of Chanda Sahab, ruler of Trichinopoly. Chanda Sahab and later his son Raza Sahab became army Generals under Haider Ali and later Tipu Sultan (Index to the Fgn. and Pol.Dept.Records, 1756-80 - P.403.)

new conquest' (2).

Immediately after his departure, the monsoon had set in with all its torrents and ferocity. The vanquished princes and the routed Nair soldiers who were forced to take refuge in the forests (3), came out from their hiding places and organised a revolt against the Mysorean occupation of Malabar. This was in the third week of June. (4). The Nairs of Chirakkal and Kadattnad were the leaders of this revolt. (5). The block houses or military out-posts established by Haider Ali and garrisoned by a handful of soldiers were surprised by the Nair soldiers fiercely. The communications of these out-posts were cut off by the swollen streams and the garrison inside lost all hope of contacting the chief forts at Calicut and Ponnani. One after another the out-posts were closely invested and some of them were captured. Instead of strengthening and fortifying these captured block houses, the rebels destroyed them immediately after their occupation. In this process, a number of Mysore soldiers were killed. (6).

The rebels moved triumphantly to Calicut and Ponnai for a trial of strength. It was only at this stage that the Mysore garrisons at Calicut and Ponnani knew of the adverse developments in the country. Both these garrisons found it well-nigh impossible to convey the news to Raza Saheb, who was at

---

(2) M.M.D.L.T.: History of Hyder Shah and of his son Tippoo Sultan, P.72.

(3) Fgn. (Misc.) S.No. 56, Part I, P.80.

(4) Francis Buchanan: A Travel through Mysore etc., P.181.

(5) Fgn. (Misc.) S.No. 56, P.97.

(6) Buchanan; Op.Cit., P.182.



Madakkara, on the frontiers of Coimbatore. At last with the help of a Portuguese sailor, who was promised a handsome reward, the adverse tidings of Malabar was conveyed to Raza Saheb (7). Immediately after the receipt of this revolt and the news of the dangerous position of the garrisons, he started with his army giving due information to Haider Ali who was at Coimbatore.

Raza Saheb had no cavalry with him. The inundated condition under which almost all the country was laid by the over-flowing of the rivers placed before him innumerable impediments. The Nair soldiers attacked the army from unexpected quarters of their hidings (8). The haste with which Raza Saheb had to lead his army and the flooded situation of the country finally led him to be blocked in between Tutakal and Ponnani rivers. It was a dangerous situation. The army could not advance further on account of swollen streams nor it could retreat due to the depredations of the Nair rebels who stood strongly in the rear. (9).

Thus Raza Saheb was entrapped with his force of 3000 men without any means of escape from the ravages of the rebels. No sooner had Haider Ali heard of the revolt than he recalled a party of his cavalry that had been cantoned at Coimbatore. He required a chosen few of his infantry to be in readiness to march on at the shortest notice. Raza Saheb having contrived to send advice of his perilous situation, Haider made a bold and remarkable dash with 3000 horse and 10000 infantry. The movement of Haider's army is graphically narrated by the author of 'The History of Hyder Shah etc.'

whose descriptions are the source material used by all historians

---

(7) M.M.D.L.T: Op.Cit., P.74.

(8) Poona-Res P.R.C., Vol.III, Letter No.103, P.124.

(9) See W.Logan: Malabar Manual, Vol.I, P.410.



of Kerala History. The passage is worth quoting. "...Imagine an army of fifteen thousand men marching from the break of day through a mountainous country.....exposed from morning till night to a constant shower, equal to those that fall in the greatest storms, attended with frequent thunder and lightning.....frequently obliged to cross rivers up to the chin in water and sometimes swimming..." (10). This unexpected march obliged the Nairs to give some relief to the force of Raza Sahab as they had to collect all their troops to put up an organised fight. The position of the Nair soldiers in a strongly entrenched camp near Pudiyangadi in Ponnani Taluk was highly favourable to them. On the other hand, the Mysore army had to expose themselves in the open field. (11) As the first attempt of the Mysore army to encounter the rebels in an open fight failed, Haidar Ali ordered his European troops to advance ~~forthe~~ forthwith. (12). They jumped into the ditch, hastily ascending the retrenches and were in the face of the enemy in an instant. (13). The rebels were astonished to the last degree and fled from their camp in disorder and ~~perat~~ precipitation.

Moens, the then Dutch Governor of Malabar observes, "no sooner did the forces of the Nabob make a formidable attack, than the Nairs retreated into the woods and the mountains." (14). This easy victory over his enemies gave him "infinite pleasure", that he gave away a gratification of thirty Rupees to every soldier and twice that sum to each of the wounded. K.M.Panicker assumes that the fight was a severe one

---

(10) The History of Hyder Shah etc., pp.75-6.

(11) Moens: Op.Cit., P.152.

(12) Ibid.

(13) M.M.D.L.T., Op.Cit., P.78.

(14) Moens: Op.Cit., P.153,

because the distribution of presents by Haider Ali was the manifestation of his relief in converting the impending defeat of his army into victory.(15). This statement is in contravention of contemporary evidence. In spite of the fact that the Mysore army was exposed to the continuous fire from the entrenched ditch with destructive aims for more than two hours, the casualty of the Mysore army was "no more than one died"(16), will disprove the severity of the fight. Thus without losing much blood, Haider Ali could accomplish a brilliant success over the rebels.

The causes and consequences of this revolt are described by the historians in different ways. K.M.Panicker says that immediately after Haider Ali left Malabar with the utmost satisfaction of a successful conquest, the Nairs organised a national resistance and that the appointment of "the hated Aly Raja of Cannanore as the ruler of Chirakkal aroused in them the spirit of patriotism to launch a liberation movement." (17). Haider Ali reached Coimbatore on the 4th of June, (18), and "on the 24th June..... news reached the Factors", writes Logan, basing his source on the Tellicherry Factory Diary, "that the Kottayam and Kadattnad Nairs had risen and retaken many places and next day it was reported that Aly Raja had been appointed civil Governor and his brother Sheik Aly, Military Governor of Kadattnad." (18)(a). This shows that the revolt took place only after three weeks since

---

(15) K.M.Panicker: Freedom Struggle of Kerala, PP.440-41.

(16) M.M.D.L.T., Op.Cit., P.79.

(17) K.M.Panicker: Op.Cit., P.43.

(18) Logan: Op.Cit., P.410.

(18) (a) See N.K. Sinha Haider Ali, Vol I, P.258

Haidar Ali retired to Coimbatore and not the days following his departure or even before Haidar Ali reached Coimbatore as K.M.Panicker makes us believe. He himself unknowingly agrees when he writes that the appointment of the 'hated Aly Raja' as Governor of Chirakal was the signal for the revolt. This appointment was on 25th June, 1766 (18-b). This again proves beyond doubt that Haidar Ali himself suspected something of the kind when he decided to reside at Coimbatore, "in order to be at hand to watch his new conquest" (19). But the expression of K.M.Panicker to the effect that Haidar Ali left Malabar "with the utmost satisfaction of a triumphant conquest" is to cast aspersions on the prudence of the conqueror. There was ample time at his disposal to reach Serinapatam before the revolt took place; if he was fully contented with his performance and subsequent arrangements of Malabar. If we follow the historian of Kerala, "the vigilance, experience and wisdom" (20) attributed to him not only by Kirmani, but also by hostile historians will give place to gross imprudent and impolitic conduct. It was because of his wisdom and experience, Haidar Ali thought of giving vigilance over his conquered territory by a watch and ward retiring only to the vicinity of Malabar.

K.M.Panicker makes out 'the spirit of patriotism and an unflinching thirst for freedom' of Nair soldiers, as the important cause for this rebellion. Moens, the contemporary writer and the biographer of Haidar Ali remarks that this revolt was the effect of the secret intrigues of the King of

---

(18-b) N.K.Sinha: Haidar Ali, Vol.I, P.

(19) H.M.D.L.T.: Op.Cit., P.72.

Travancore and the nephews of the Zamorin. He continues to say that the English Factory of Tellichery provided all possible help to the rebels(20). This is corroborated by the author of 'The History of Hyder Shah etc.' (21); The Raja of Travancore fomented disturbances in Malabar and helped his brother rulers who took protection under him, (22) with a view of keeping the Mysoreans engaged with the internal problems of Malabar and save himself from the threatened invasion. The appointment of the Raja of Cannanore as the Governor of Chirakkal deprived the Kolattiri family of their return to power which might be the important cause of the rebellion. The Nair princes and Chieftains who were used to the tradition of the victor being enjoined on to return the kingdoms and principalities after a war to the respective Rajas and nobles found a drastic change after the Malabar conquest of Haidar Ali. This rude shock combined with the ascendancy of Aly Raja, though a native ruler but the adherent of a different faith was unthinkable for the Nairs. The lack of communications, transport facilities and the inundated condition of the country facilitated the 'freedom fighters', to rise in revolt against 'the foreign rule', with the help of 'the native Englishmen' of Tellichery Factory! In fact these 'freedom struggles' were skillfully engineered by the English Factors against which a number of protests were made by Haidar Ali (23) and after him, his son Tipu Sultan (23-a). They gave shelter to the fugitive princes (24) and always kept them as their trump cards to fan the flame of disturbances in the country. It was a standing complaint with Tipu Sultan that the English were assisting

---

(20) Moens: Op.Cit., P.154.

(21) M.M.D.L.T.: Op.Cit., P.73.

(22) P.R.C.: Vol.III, No. 37 A, PP.36-7.

(23) Fgn.Secret (Dept.) Pro. 1-22, Sept.1788, S.No.92, PP.3803-4.

(23-a) P.R.C. No.37A.

(24) Mly.Cons, Jan. 1, 1790, Vol., 133 A.

Malabar princes against Mysore. (25). In the following discussions, we can witness how were these rebellions sponsored as a corollary of Anglo-Mysore wars. If these can be termed as 'freedom struggles' the net result of which was the end of the Mysorean rule and the ascendancy of the English.

After the rout of the rebels Haider Ali, it is reported to have mercilessly massacred a number of Nair soldiers (26). The author of 'the History of Hydar Shah etc.' further alleges that before he quitted the country, Hydar by a solemn edict, declared the Nayars deprived of all their privileges and ordained that their caste, which was first after the Brahmins, should thereafter be the lowest of all castes, subjecting them to salute the Pariahs and others of the lowest castes by ranging themselves before them as the other Malabars had been obliged to do before the Nairs; permitting all the other castes to bear arms and forbidding them to Nairs who till then had enjoyed the sole right of carrying them; at the same time allowing and commanding all persons to kill such Nairs as were found bearing arms. This ordinance being found to make the submission of the Nairs absolutely impossible because they would have thought death preferable to such a degradation, he made a new edict by which he re-established in all their rights and privileges such Nairs as should embrace the Muhammedan religion. (27)

---

(25) Sec.Pro. Dec., 1789, S.No. 96 A., Tipu to Holland, P.2901.  
Also see: Ibid, Nov., 11, 1789, Tipu to Holland, PP.2977-3070.

(26) Fgn.(Misc.) S.No.56, Part I, P. Also see, Wilks: Vol.V,P.293.

(27) E.M-D.L.T.: P.80.

These edicts were copied down by all historians of Kerala who dealt with the subject, either to justify the royal proclamation as P.K.Balakrishnan does in his book: 'Tipu Sultan' (28) or to condemn down-right as K.M.Panicker and other writers do. (29). After a searching scrutiny of available materials, it seems that the so-called edicts of Haider Ali have borne out from the imagination of the Author of 'the History of Hyder Shah etc.'. No other contemporary observer corroborates this. Kirmani who seems enthused to write such acts as a laudable credit of Haider Ali does not mention these edicts. Another important contemporary author is the Dutch Governor Moens. He would have certainly mentioned this most important royal proclamations in his 'Memo-randum on the administration of the Malabar Coast', if they were actually proclaimed by Haider Ali. It should be remembered that Moens had written a biography of Haider Ali also. The 'linguist' of the Tellichery Factory who appears to be very informative in his letters to his superiors in gathering even silly news and minor events of the country to help them appraise the actual situation of the place does not mention anything of the kind in his correspondence covering this period. Therefore it can safely be presumed as an inventory of a malicious mind to malign the Mysorean occupation of Kerala as a rule of religious persecutions and forcible conversions. All historians of Kerala swallowed these allegations without scrutiny. The fundamental mistake with the writers of this period of Kerala history is that they had taken the Author of 'the History

---

(28) P.K.Balakrishnan: Tipu Sultan, P.229.

(29) K.M.Panicker: P.442; Logan: Vol.I, P.413; Innes, Vol.I, P.63; Kerala Muslim Directory, P.242.



**PALGHAT FORT**  
*(Built By Haidar Ali in 1766)*

of Hyder Shah etc.'s an absolute authority to detail out their historical narrations. No one tried to scrutinise the utterances of this unknown author.

The hollowness of the invention of this author can easily be exposed by a single argument why did Haider Ali promulgate a second edict conferring all rights to those Nairs who were prepared to convert to the religion of Islam? It is evident that when they convert they cease to be Nairs and naturally the first edict 'depriving the Nairs of their privileges' will not apply to them. Therefore, the question of a second edict does not arise or if that is proclaimed, it becomes superfluous.

Haider Ali after suppressing the rebellion made up his mind to construct a fort at Palghat, "which lying in the centre of the gap in the line of ghats, was judiciously chosen as an advanced post and depot to facilitate communications with the newly subdued province." (30). When the erection of the fort was in execution, his attention was drawn to Mysore where the Nizam and the Marattas supported by the English were threatening his kingdom with an invasion. Therefore, Haider Ali left Malabar for Mysore.

There were no serious disturbances in Malabar till the out-break of the First Anglo-Mysore War, when under the instigation of the English, some of the vanquished chieftains served them with their retinues. (31) But the two Collectors of British Malabar, whose Manuals and Gazetteers supply immense information, tell a different tale of the disturbances that

---

(30) Logan: Vol.I, P.414.

(31) Tipu Sultan: P.230.



followed the First Anglo-Mysore War. W.Logan writes, "a force despatched for this purpose (for invading Travancore) had been defeated and this reverse seems to have been the signal for another general rising in Malabar" (32). Innes, observes "the defeat of a force sent by Haider Ali, to bring the Travancore Raja to reason, led to another general outbreak" (33). This is evidently to wash off the dirty hands of the English, with whose connivance and aid the disturbances occurred in 1768. The Authors of Travancore State Manuals do not enlist this so-called victory of the Raja of Travancore on Haider Ali, in their flattering admiration of the Raja. If such an event had happened, the compilers of State Manuals would not have missed it. Neither it is in the Report of the 'Malabar Commissioners', nor in the descriptions of Moens and Buchanan. Even the most hostile critic K.M.Panicker, does not dare to support the authors of

Malabar Manuals and Gazetteers. The Author of 'the History of Hyder Shah etc' whose utterances about the cruelties of Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan were consumed with the sanctity of biblical sayings by these writers, is totally ignored by them in this context. He repeatedly makes observations of the military preparations of Haider Ali with the avowed intention of 'paying a visit to Travancore' and "the discovery of the intention of the English, caused the departure of the army for Travancore to be suspended" (34). The Dutch Governor, who wrote his 'Memo-randum' in 1781 says "in the year 1766, in the month of October, we thought that he was going to attack Travancore and Cochin. But in the month of January 1767, he got tidings with

---

(32) Logan: Vol.I, P.414.

(33) Innes: Vol.I, P.63.

(34) History of Hyder Shah etc., P.96.

the Marattas and Nizam Ally were approaching in order to invade Mysore. He at once moved off his army and threw himself with it into his capital Seringapatam, where he was blockaded and surrounded." (35). Since Logan, and after him Innes, do not substantiate with any reliable authority, it can safely be discarded as a machination of these English scholars.

A serious defiance of Mysorean authority in Malabar occurred, when, in the course of First Anglo-Mysore War, the English invested the Cannanore Fort. The fall of Mangalore and the early reverses of the Mysore army in the First Anglo-Mysore war made the Nair chieftains to calculate the decline of Haider Ali's power. Therefore, they allowed themselves to be made tools in the hands of the English. Logan writes "on 3rd of March, 1768, the prince of Kelattenad and the Raja of Kottayam had agreed to join with 1700 Nayars" (36). On this alliance of the English with the fugitive princes of Malabar, the author of 'the History of Hyder Shah etc' observes, "the English Government obliged him to abandon the coast of Malabar among the inhabitants of which they proposed to incite a rebellion." (37). The declared policy of the Company was to help the rebels but not to indulge in any direct action against Haider Ali which can be evident in the remonstrance of the Bombay Council on the siege of the Cannanore Fort by the Tellicherry Factors. It runs thus: "this precipitate and ill-judged conduct in the present state of affairs lays us under the greatest embarrassment" (37). But the combined forces were

---

(35) Moens: Op.Cit., p.154.

(36) Logan: Vol.I, p.415.

(37) H.F.D.L.T.: Op.Cit., p.136.

(37-a) Fgn and Home Dept- Sec. Cons. No.1 (1756-80)

repelled by Aly Raja of Cannanore. Realising that the capture of the place was not an easy task, "the scheme was finally abandoned." (38).

The course of First Anglo-Mysore War turned rapidly in favour of Haider Ali. The recapture of Mangalore and the panick-stricken flight of the English garrison not only created demoralisation among the English in India, but also spread wide-spread disappointment and fear among the Nair soldiers who with the nice hope supported them in Malabar. "It was the most shameful retreat", writes Wilks, "with utmost resentment, there were 41 guns, 200 Europeans, 1200 sepoy in the Fort, the retreat was so shameful that they left behind their sick and wounded consisting of 80 Europeans and 180 sepoy and most of their arms and ammunitions." (39). The author of the 'History of Hyder Shah' who claims that he was present in the recapture of the Fort gives the number of the English army thus: "in this manner was the whole English army taken, consisting of the General, forty-six officers, six hundred and eighty English troops and above six thousand sepoy together with their arms and baggage." (40). Moens in his 'Memorandum' also gives a greater number than Wilks writes. (41)\*

---

(38) Logan: Vol.I, P.415.

(39) Wilks: Historical Sketches etc., Vol.I, P.608.

(40) The History of Hyder Shah and of his son Tippoo Sultan, P.235.

(41) Moens: Op.Cit., P.155.

\* But Prof.Mohibbul Hasan Khan and N.K. Sinha find no reason to disagree with Wilks, who in fact was trying to minimise the disgrace that had befallen upon the English.

The indignation of all the English historians is visibly manifested in their down-right condemnation of the manner the garrison took their flight. Thus the Bombay force was driven out of Mangalore with much more casualties and captives left behind them than Wilks writes, "with such indecent haste", (42) and paved the way for Haider Ali to dispossess them from the rest of their Malabar conquests.

In this helpless state of affairs, the vanquished Rajas approached Madanna, the Civil Governor, through the good offices of the Dutch and the French to accept their loyalty and reinstate them in their respective territories as faithful tributaries. (43). "The French Commandant at Mahe, and the Dutch at Cochin, employed themselves with effect to terminate the difference between Haider and the Nair princes." (44). Negotiations were successfully carried out and Madanna agreed to reinstate the Rajas on specific terms of agreeing to pay war indemnity and annual tribute. (45). Thus in the month of December 1768, the Mysorean Company left Malabar (46) and formed a forceful support to the rest of the army in their fight against the English.

About this political acumen displayed by Haider Ali, different views are expressed by our historians. "Hyder's provincial troops, whose escape would otherwise have been impracticable" describes Wilks, "not only retreated in safety but loaded with treasure - the willing contributions (47), of the chiefs of Malabar - the purchase of a dream of independence." (48). K.M. Panicker feels that Haider knew that it

---

(42) Logan: Vol.I, P.416.

(43) Buchanan, Vol.II, 384.

(44) M.E.D.L.T.: Op.Cit., P.147.

(45) Rgn. (Misc.) S.No. 56, Part I, P.

(46) Ibid, P.

(47) The Kadattnad Raja alone paid as much as Rs.80,000 (Tellichery Diary, December 1768).

(48) Wilks: Op.Cit., P.333.

was impossible to subjugate the Nairs and that he began negotiations with them and finally restored them in their respective territories. (49). In Malabar, there was no emergency during this period 'to fear the destruction of Mysorean army' as Wilks thinks, to adopt a policy of pacification nor it was due to the belief of Haider Ali that it was not possible to rule over the country peacefully when the Nair rebels were at large as K.M. Panicker claims it to be. The contemporary writers like Moens and Buchanan testify otherwise which were adverted to above. In fact the Rajas began negotiations with the help of the Dutch and the French when they realised that the tide of the war is fast moving in favour of Mysore. Further the failure of the English and the Rajas to capture the Fort of Cannanore also opened their eyes and led them to submit to the willing obedience of the Mysorean conqueror. When the Rajas turned reasonable, Haider Ali agreed to reinstate them. It was strictly in consonance with the Mysorean policy. We have seen that Haider Ali sent his deputies to the Rajas requiring them to accept his suzerainty before he marched against them. When the Raja of Cochin agreed to pay a tribute annually, Cochin territory was never molested. (50). Therefore, this was not necessitated by any political expediency but because of the general policy followed by them as regards the conquered territories.

---

(49) K.M. Panicker: *Cn.Cit.*, P.446.

(50) C. Achutha Menon: Cochin State Manual, P.122.

It was the condition of the country that helped the rebels to raise the flag of revolt. The rainy season which would cut away all inland communications and the hilly nature of the country that would provide suitable hiding places helped them to carry on "occasional depredations" (51). On the other hand these physical features of the place placed innumerable impediments before the warring army to quell them. But as military engagements, these rebellions were colossal failures. The Nairs though trained in spartan style, were no match to the disciplined Mysorean infantry. That all the rebellions in Malabar took place in the Monsoon seasons, is indicative of the nature of military operations known and practised by the professional Nair soldiers of the country. But the most absurd of all is to characterise these rebellions and disturbances as 'freedom struggle'. In doing so, we will be abusing those words and making a mockery of the same.

#### Consolidation.

It was in December 1768 that the the Mysore army retired from Malabar after restoring the local Rajas except the Raja of Cherickal (1) on condition of stipulated annual tributes (2). The Kolathiri Kingdom of the Raja of Cherickal was under the management of the Raja of Cannanore since its conquest in the year 1766 (3). He was restored to his ancient possessions only in 1774(4).

---

(51) P.R.C. No.103, P.124.

(1) Fgn.(Misc.) S.No.55, P.21, Para.21.

(2) Moens: Memorandum etc., P.133.

(3) Fgn.(Misc.) S.No. 15, P.21, Para 20.

(4) Ibid.

Though the First Anglo-Mysore War was terminated in the early months of 1769, when "Haider had dictated peace to us under the walls of Madras" (5) he was confronted with the marauding Marattas who had entered into his territory, ravaging and pillaging the place to the point of ruin, and reaching the capital of his dominion. He had to purchase peace on humiliating terms. But this loss was soon repaired when dissensions arose in the Maratta Camp consequent on the death of Madhava Rao in November, 1772, "Haider as a skilful politician, could not fail to turn to his advantage." (6). In little more than six months - between September, 1773 and February, 1774 - he managed to repossess himself of all the territories he had lost during the English and the Maratta Wars. (7). In this attempt, Haider Ali turned his attention to Malabar also, where the Rajas defaulted the payment of the promised annual tribute since he had restored them in 1768.

The reason for removing them was the non-payment of the stipulated tribute. Moens observes that the period of seven years (1766-1774) or since the Nawab had left the Zamorin's country, he had not paid a penny of his annual tribute. (8) This is corroborated by the author of 'the History of Hyder Shah' etc. He writes, "this prince (Zamorin) refused to pay the tribute he had consented to give, when Haider in 1767 restored his dominions" (9). How unconcerned was the Zamorin in acquitting his duties is explained by Moens in his 'Memorandum on the Administration of the Malabar Coast'. He says that not a month before the Zamorin had to flee, he received letter

---

(5) Mollison; G.B.: Springanatem, Capital of Tipu, P.146.

(6) Monibbul Hasan Khan: Tipu Sultan, P.14.

(7) Wilks: Historical Sketches etc., Vol.II, P.388.

(8) Moens: Op.Cit., P.155.

(9) F.B.D.L.T.: History of Hyder Shah etc., P.255.

after letter from him dealing only on the appointment of a Namboodiri or priest in the Tripuratty\*, pagoda by the King of Cochin in regard to which the Zamorin was not consulted. He continues that the position in regard to this pagoda is that the appointment of the Namboodiri must be made after both the Zamorin and the King of Cochin have been informed. The Zamorin asked as strongly for his support in this matter "as if his head and the existence of his Kingdom depended on it." (10). Although the modern author of 'The Zamorins of Kozhikode,' closely follows the statement of the Dutch Governor in this respect (11), Panicker has suggested that the reason for removing the Malayalee Rajas was that "Haider Ali hated the Nair rulers because they were infidels" (12). This view, however, goes against other facts as well. For example; the Raja of Cochin who agreed to be a tributary to Haider Ali from the time of his Malabar conquest in the year 1766 was never molested nor made victims of any kind of vituperations. (13). On the other hand the relation of the Mysore rulers with the Raja of Cochin was quite friendly. (14). That Haider Ali did not formulate the policy towards the Nair princes on a communal basis, is borne out by further evidence. Even after the Zamorin and other princes were relieved of their duties, Haider Ali did not hesitate to consider most favourably the request placed before him by the Kolattiri prince to re-instate him in his ancestral Kingdom on condition of paying tribute to Mysore. (15).

---

\*TRIPRAYAR near TRICHUR.

(10) Moens: Op.Cit., P.133.

(11) Prof:K.V.Krishna Iyer: Zamorins of Kozhikode, P.242.

(12) K.M.Panicker: Freedom Struggle of Kerala, P.466.

(13) Buchanan, Vol.II, P.388.

(14) See the Topic 'The relation of Tipu with the Kingdom of Cochin.'

(15) Fgn.(Misc.) S.No. 94, PP.69-70, Voucher, 4.



We have seen that Aly Raja, a Copilah prince, was the manager of the Kolattiri Kingdom since its conquest in 1766.(16). But Aly Raja was, however, negligent in paying tribute. Therefore, the management of the Kolattiri was taken away from him and was offered again to the ruling prince on the condition that he should annually pay a tribute.(17). This is supported again by an entry in the Tellicherry Factory Diary:(18). "when this intelligence been known to that neighbourhood that the Nabob received under the shadow of his protection," writes Kirmani, commenting on this development, "who sought his forgiveness and that he punished the rebels with a strong hand.....the Nayamars and Moppillas placed the ring of obedience...."(19). It is obvious, therefore, that the reason for removing them in 1774 was the non-payment of the stipulated tribute whereas the reason for the restoration of the Kolattiri Raja in 1776 was his solemn agreement to remit an annual tribute without fail.

The period in which these Rajas were re-instated and entrusted with the administration of the country was a period of mis-management and mal-administration. This is testified by Buchanan. He says that the Rajas were vested with despotic authority over the other inhabitants and that the condition of the inhabitants under these Rajas, was worse than it had been under the Canarese Brahmins.\* He describes how in the space of a few years many of them amassed treasure to an amount unknown to their ancestors. Buchanan concludes "Nothing could exceed the despotic rapaciousness of these men, to oppose which there was no barrier; for it is well-known that none of the

---

(16) Ibid, S.No. 55, P.21, Para.20.

(17) Locus: Op.Cit., P.146.

(18) Madras M.R.O.: Manuscript Library - Tellicherry Diary,  
dated 2nd April, 1780.

(19) Kirmani: Mishan-i-Hyderi, P.186.

\*Madanna and Sreenivasa Rao, the Civil Governors of Malabar.

inhabitants dare complain against a Raja, whatever injuries they may have sustained, assassination being certain follower of complaint. (20)\* Farmer, one of the members of the 'Joint Commissioners of Malabar', recorded his sentiments as early as May, 27, 1792, against the introduction of the ancient Zamorin's Government which he considers as replete with political vices and as tending to discourage improvement, decrease the revenue and ultimately to produce a great uncertainty as to the receipt of it or to the continuation of the Company's authority in the country without occasional wars to re-establish it, adding that Mr "it was not till Hyder's experience of the faithlessness of this family that he expelled them and took the management into his own hands..." (21). It was a necessity then for the common weal to replace such irresponsible mal-administration by a better one that could stand par with any other well-governed territory elsewhere in India, the salient features of which are discussed in a later Chapter. (22).

Accordingly a force was despatched under Sayyid Sahab\* and Sreenivasa Rao in the month of December, 1773 (23). The Mysorean force, thus once more descended on Malabar, took a new and direct route through Wynad down the Tamarasseri Chat (24). All the Malayalee princes except the Raja of Cannanore, were removed from the reins of administration without even picking up a quarrel. The only noteworthy event on this occasion was the submission of the Zamorin, his country and his subjects to the King of France and obtain promises of protection against his enemies. (25)† A treaty was entered into between Zamorin

---

(20) Buchanan, Vol.II, pp.189-91.

(21) Fgn. (Misc.) S.No. 55, P.116, Para.114.

(22) See Chapter III.

\*Sayyid Sahab was one of the military commanders of Haider Ali. Tipu married his daughter.

(23) Tellicherry Factory Diary, dated April 2, 1780.

(24) Fgn. (Misc.) S.No. 56, P.69.

(25) Moens: Op.Cit., P.133.

and Governor Duprat on January 12, 1774, by which Zamorin submitted himself to be a vassal of the Crown of France in lieu of immunity from Haider Ali's army. (26). The Commandant at Mahe accepted this and came with a few troops to take possession of the fortress of Calicut where he hoisted the French standard. "This was a most imprudent and inconsiderate step for many reasons," comments the author of 'the History of Hyder Shah and of his Son Tipoo Sultan', (27), on this foolish act of the French Commandant. Immediately after the French forces took charge of the fortress, the Commandant informed Arcenivas Rao that he had taken the Zamorin under his protection on behalf of the King of France. "The General, however, troubled himself little about this," writes Moens, "but continued his march towards Calicut." (28). The Commandant of Mahe had no forces sufficient to sustain the consequences of of a possible clash, evacuated the Fort with all haste and returned to Mahe from Calicut, "on the vessel by which they had arrived." (29).

Consequent upon this failure of the French to save him, the Zamorin made another attempt to free himself from the Mysoreans, that can best be put by the contemporary authority in his own words: "When the Zamorin fled, he wanted to take shelter in our territory, but I diverted him from it. So he retired with his family by sea to the south on a native vessel to the Kingdom of Travancore, where with the connivance of that ruler he still\* resides." (30). The Zamorin who had submitted to the French had tried to seek the protection of

---

(26) Ibid, P.155.

(27) C.M.D.L.T., Op.cit., P.255.

(28) Moens: Op.Cit., P.156.

(29) Ibid.

\*Moens wrote his 'Memorandum' in 1781 A.D.

(30) Ibid, P.156.

the Dutch, later went over to the English . He could not have enjoyed much popular support, otherwise he would not have sought the protection of all the three European powers one after another. Greenivas Rao was instructed by Haider Ali to make arrangements this time for direct administration of the country. Thus Malabar formed one of the provinces of Mysore Kingdom.

The consolidation of his Malabar conquest was complete with this direct control of the State affairs. Greenivas Rao, the Civil Governor of Haider Ali undertook country-wide enquiries and organized a systematic land revenue administration, based on the principles followed in other parts of the Mysorean Kingdom. (31). The whole system of administration was remodelled and set aright. It seems that till 1782 when Colonel Humberstone who had been sent by the Bombay Government to act with Major Abington from Tellicherry, (32), landed with his force in Malabar during the Second Anglo-Mysore War, "the condition of the country as a whole was comparatively peaceful." (33).

During this interval, Haider Ali made up his mind to conquer the Travancore Kingdom and made preparations to this effect.\* In a letter dated December 31, 1774 from Rowson Hart Baddam, the Chief of Tellicherry Factory, to Fort St. George, conveying that Haider was making great preparations for proceeding down this Coast, by way of the Ghats in land by Calicut, supposed with an intention to attack the Cochin Kingdom and after that conquest to proceed to Travancore. (34). This observation did not fall short of fact. Sardar Khan was set in motion

---

(31) Buchanan, Vol. II, P. 446.

(32) Sec. Pro., May 23, 1822 1782, P. 1684.

(33) D.K. Balakrishnan: 'Tippu Sultan', P. 233.

\*See the topic 'Relation of Tippu with the Kingdom of Travancore.'

(34) Fgn. (Sec.) Dent. Cons., 3-2-1775, No. 7.

at the head of 10,000 men, in August, 1776, and entered the Cochin territory.(35). When the Raja agreed to pay the arrears of tribute and promised to remit regularly the annual payments, he returned with his army (36), without making any attempt to cross the frontiers of Travancore. At the same time, Baïdar Ali renewed his request, to the Dutch Governor Moens, to allow a free passage to his army towards Travancore through the Dutch possessions of Chatvai and Cranganore. Since Moens evaded to give a satisfactory reply, Sardar Khan captured the Fort by a surprise attack. The whole of the island including Chatvai, Ayroor, or Pagonetty and the territory of the Raja of Cranganore (excepting the Dutch Fort) all of which were tributary to the Dutch now succumbed to Baïdar's General; but he found his further advance impeded by the Travancore lines(37). This was communicated by the Raja of Travancore who was in a state of fear, to the Governor of Fort St.George in a letter dated October 20, 1776.(38).

But the scheme of conquerring Travancore was averted this time also, because the next few months were wasted partly in skirmishes with the Dutch round Chatvai and Cranganore and partly in fruitless negotiations for an alliance and for a free passage through the Dutch territory along the Coast.(39). "About this time, Rydar who was now most indignant with the Dutch was obliged to go to war with the English and the Nabob of Arcot."(40).

---

(35) Cochin State Manual, P.122.

(36) Moens: Memorandum etc., P.158.

(37) Batavia Diary: N.S.No. 1056, PP.219, and 238.

Also see Day: Land of Perumala, P.153.

(38) Fgn.(Sec.) Dept., Cons., 1777, 20th January-D.

(39) Dutch Records No. 13, P.159.

(40) Day: Land of Perumala, P.155.

On March 13, 1778, the French recognised the 'Declaration of American Independence' and thus brought on another war with the English(41). "Hyder being informed in the month of August, 1778", writes the Author of the History of Hyder Shah etc., "that hostilities had commenced between England and France, made a truce of six years with the Marattas"(42). Haider determined to make war with the English. He was indignant with them for their breach of treaty provisions by evading to help him against the Marattas. Haider Ali failed also to induce them to renew the treaty of offensive and defensive alliance which they had concluded in 1769.(43). He had made more than one overture with that end in view, one of them so late as 1778.(44). Therefore, when the news reached him about the outbreak of war between England and France, Haider Ali foresaw that he had to enter into an open hostility with the English.

The French possession of Pondicherry fell to the English soon after the commencement of the war and the English wanted to capture Mahe, the French settlement on the Malabar Coast.(45). This awakened Haider Ali to the grave situation that would arise if Mahe fell into the hands of the English. Haider Ali claimed full sovereignty over the whole area including the European settlements. This claim was reiterated in a letter dated March 19, 1779, to the Governor of Madras in which Haider Ali wrote: "now you have set on foot an expedition against Mahe. There are many factories in

---

(41) Logan: Lalchar Manual, Vol.I, P.424.

(42) H.M.D.L.T., Op.Cit., P.255.

(43) See H.E.Dodwell: Cambridge History of India, Vol.V, P.282.

(44) Bumbold's Minutes: Madras - Ply.Cons., Fort St.George, July 4, 1778.

(45) W.Logan: Malabar Manual, Vol.II, P.421.

my country belonging to the Dutch, English, French, Portuguese and Danes, who trade in my country on the footing of subjects. None of those possess forts or countries which should cause to any other to attack them and if anyone should attack them it will be proper for me to give assistance to those whom I consider my subjects." (46).

Subsequently, Prince Regent of Kolattnad was required to join the French with his force and orders were sent to Kodattnad to send a force of 2000, for the same purpose (47). The Nair soldiers who were all the while completely subservient to the Mysoreans joined the English during this Anglo-French contest on Mahe. The Samorin and the Rajas of Kodattnad and Kottayam were also inclined to join the English. "The Factors of Tellicherry took every possible means to secure these allies." writes W. Logan, "and as the event turned out, the Kollattnad Prince was the only Chief who remained faithful to Haider Ali's interest until after Mahe had fallen." (48). In spite of the combined efforts of the Prince of Kollattnad and the French forces at Mahe, the English succeeded in capturing the place. (49). During this period some of the Nair Chieftains including the Samorin, who with the assistance of English, made an attempt to recover their lost territory from the Mysorean authorities. (50).

But the Mysorean troops had no difficulty in putting down the recalcitrant chiefs. At the same time, the English after the occupation of Mahe, apparently showed no sign of

---

(46) Fgn. (Sec.) Pro. of Lec. Select Committee, 4th January to 20th June, 1779. Haider Ali to Governor, March, 19, 1779.

(47) Fgn. (Misc.) S.No. 56, Part I, P.74.

(48) Logan: Vol. I, P.424.

(49) Fgn. (Misc.) S.No. 55, P.32. Also J.Mill, Vol. IV, P.144.

(50) Mirman: Bishan-i-Hyderi, PP.458-59.

hostility towards the Mysorean forces, as the Company was nominally at peace with Haider Ali and therefore "no over encouragement, beyond the grant of supplies of arms etc, was held out to the country powers." (51). In short when the English stopped hostility with the Mysore troops, the Nairs found themselves helpless, and "suffered the fury of Haider Ali single-handed" (52), in spite of the fact that they received, "the grant of supplies of arms etc," from the Company.

The Kolatnad prince who was loyal to Haider Ali, easily dispossessed the Kottayam Nairs and marched against Kadattnad where the senior Raja who had sided with the English was deposed in favour of a young prince. (53). It was a hard time for the Factors of Tellicherry (54). The English did not wish to enter into a war with Haider Ali at this stage when their affairs elsewhere in India were not favourable to them. In the Secret Consultations of the Select Committee of February 14, 1780, this is clearly stated thus: Part taken by Haider Ali in fomenting these disturbances and marching a large body of his troops to take possession of the ruins of Mahe, on account of its proximity to Tellicherry shows no favourable disposition towards us and that the gentlemen at Tellicherry have imprudently provoked hostilities by interfering in the country disputes and giving protection to people anxious to Hydar and the Nayars. (55). The document lays down the line of action that would be taken by the English at Tellicherry. They were required to be always defensive and not to show any sign of hostility towards Haider Ali. (56).

By November 1779, Mahe had been evacuated and all the British troops in Malabar had been concentrated in

---

(51) Logan: Vol., I, P.425.

(52) K.M. Panicker: Op.Cit., P.454.

(53) Logan: Op.Cit., P.425.

(54) Fgn. (Pol.) Dept. 1756-80 - Sec.Cons., Jan.14, 1780, No.503-4.

(55) Fgn. (Home) Dept. 1756-80, January 14, 1780.

(56) Ibid.



Tellichery for the defence of the town against the forces of the Kolattnad and Kadattnad Rajas (57). In the month of February, 1780, Sardar Khan arrived in Malabar with a force and after settling some domestic disputes with the Rajas of Kottayam and Kadattnad appeared before Tellichery on July 8, 1780 and "Tellichery continued to be closely invested by Hyder's and Rajas' joint forces." (58). "Sardar Khan refused to assign any reason" for this action. But it was no longer doubtful that Haider Ali had finally broken with the Company." (59). The reason for this drastic step of Sardar Khan can be presumed from a letter sent by Braithwaite to the Governor and President of the Select Committee, Fort St. George, Madras, on the month of February 1780. It is entered in the Proceedings as follows: "I had private intelligence that Sardar Cawn has orders not to enter into the disputes between Tellichery and the Nairs unless the Madras troops at Mahe took it up in which case he has to join the Prince of Cherrickal. The Commandant and the Factory both write to me that they did not believe that Hyder would interfere but the former still require assistance." (60). Another reason assigned for this action is that Haider wrote himself in February, 1780, to the Resident that the Principals of the Nayars and others who had taken refuge in Tellichery being delivered up to the Prince of Cherickal, the troubles should cease. (61).

The above manifests the reason why Sardar Khan interfered in the siege of Tellichery. The Madras troops who

---

(57) Ibid, Cons. April 5, 1779.

(58) Fgn. (Misc.) S.No. 55, P.36, Para.30.

(59) Logan: Vol.I, P.428.

(60) Fgn. (Pol.) Sec.Pro. 1756-80, S.14, February, 80 (2).

(61) Fgn. (Misc.) S.No. 55, P.36, Para. 30.

had evacuated Make, in the year 1779, now came to the rescue of Tellichery Factors and openly fought against the tributaries of Haider Ali, evidently against the directions of the Supreme Council. Thus it is clear that "the gentlemen of Tellichery had imprudently provoked hostilities." A few days after the siege of Tellichery commenced, Haider Ali with an army of 90,000 men descended upon the plain of Carnath on July 20, 1780. (62). Thus began the second Anglo-Mysore War. The defeat of Baillie (63), which was summed up by Thomas Munro, "the severest blow that the English ever sustained in India" (64), and other reverses of the English in the war made the condition of the besieged in Tellichery "very serious" (65). The siege lasted for 18 months. The Factors at Tellichery showed unabated vigour and inexhaustible heroism in defending the Fort. By the end of the year 1781, reinforcements arrived from Bombay under Colonel Humberstone with the instructions to act in conformity with Major Abington of Tellichery Factory. On February 8, 1782, Sardar Khan who was invested Tellichery was defeated by Major Abington (66), and was taken prisoner with 1200 men. (67). The Author of Haider Nama writes that Sardar Khan who was very much ashamed of this defeat ended his life by committing suicide. (68).

Hearing of these losses Haider sent Makhdum Ali to the Malabar Coast. On this action Wilks comments, "he determined

---

(62) Wilks: Op.Cit., Vol.I, P.812.

(63) Kirmani: Op.Cit., P.198.

(64) Gleig: Munro, P.25 (quoted by Mohibbul Hasan Khan, Op.Cit., P.24).

(65) Logan: Op.Cit., P.428

(66) History of Tipu Sultan, P.23.

(67) Wilks: Op.Cit., Vol.II, P.108.

(68) Haider Nama, P.97, quoted by Mohibbul Hasan Khan, P.24.

to concentrate his force, to abandon his scheme of conquest in Coromandal and to direct his undivided efforts first, for the expulsion of the English from the Western Coast, and afterwards for the preservation of his dominions and for watching the course of events."(69). When the Company knew that the war in the Malabar Coast was intended to be intensified, Letters were despatched by the English to the Zamorin and the Raja of Travancore with the request of helping them "to crush Haider Ali's force on the Coast."(70). As a result "Colonel Humberstone as senior officer assumed also the command .....and being joined by a body of Nairs, anxious to emerge from a long and cruel subjugation he moved about 20 miles to the southward of Calicut and close to Tricalore,"(71) came in contact with Haider's detachment under Makhdom Ali already adverted to above.(72). Makhdom Ali who was confident of the strength of his army gave battle on April 8, 1782, (73) in a strong but dangerous position with a deep and difficult river in the rear of his right. ( 74). "He paid the penalty for his temerity with his own life and the loss of a good part of his army."(75).

It was only after the defeat and death of Makhdom Ali that the Nair rebels joined hands with the English. But their number was also very small. The ruling princes fought on the side of Mysoreans. Wilks himself admits as Humberstone confessed that he was ignorant of the road and situation of the

---

(69) Wilks: Op.Cit., Vol.II, P.109.

(70) Logan: Op.Cit., P.430.

(71) On 8th April, 1782 - Tellichery Factory Diary,  
13th and 14th April, 1782.

(72) Wilks: Op.Cit., P.28.

(73) Tellichery Factory Diary, 13th and 15th April, 1782.

(74) Wilks: Op.Cit., P.28.

(75) Sec.Pro., May 28, 1782, P.1684.

country and could place little dependence on the information of the Nairs, natives of that part of the country, probably because they might not have thrown off the allegiance. (76).

The Manual of Standing Information of Madras Presidency reports this instance that a rebellion had broken out in Malabar and a small force of English sent to their aid gained a considerable victory at Tellichery, which necessitated the immediate despatch of Tipu to the Western Coast. (77).

The news of the disaster which befall on Nakhsum's army greatly perturbed Haider. He, therefore, ordered Tipu to proceed to the West Coast to retrieve the situation. (78). Colonel Humberstone when at Calicut received information on June 16, 1782, that "Tipu Sahab will most undoubtedly command the army on this side in the ensuing campaign." (79). This information proved to be correct and Tipu Sultan marched with a division of the army with immediate despatch to oppose the invaders. Though the English detachment reached Palghat on October 19, yet Colonel Humberstone finding the place much stronger than he expected and it being rumoured that a large force was advancing against him, "very prudently determined to retreat." (80). Wilks emphasises that Humberstone was ordered to retreat by the Bombay Government and he would have done so, but for the late receipt of the order. (81). This is corroborated by an entry in the Tellichery Factory Diary which reveals that he had intended marching on the evening of the 18th. (82).

When Tipu reached Palghat he found that the enemy had retreated. Without loss of time, he pursued the English,

---

(76) Wilks: Op.Cit., P.161.

(77) The Manual etc., 1893, p.50.

(78) History of Tipu Sultan, Op.Cit., P.24.

(79) Tellichery Factory Diary, dated July 1, 1782.

(80) Charles Stuart's: Catalogue and Memoirs of Tipu Sultan, P.264.

(81) Wilks: Vol.II, PP.31-2.

(82) Tellichery Factory Diary, Nov., 22, 1782.

"incessantly harassed and cannonaded" (83) and a large part of Tipu's cavalry who had preceded the enemy captured much of their baggage and provisions. (84). This was continued throughout the day until Bamberstone reached the river Ponnani by sunset. The river was swollen by rains. Tipu believed that it was impassable. Therefore he determined to rout the English force by the next day break and gave rest to his army. To his surprise, he found early in the morning that the enemy had crossed the river and escaped from his clutches. Wilks graphically describes how the English force was saved from total annihilation in these words: "The early part of the night was passed in anxious search for a practicable ford and at length one was found so deep as to take ordinary men to the chin; yet in clinging together in silence, the tall assisting the short, the whole got across without the loss of a man." (85). Those who saved their lives from a possible disaster took the greatest speed to escape to a suitable shelter. Though Tipu made a desperate attempt to overtake them, he could not, because by that time, they had been taken up a ~~safe~~ position in the Ponnani town. (86). There, Colonel Macleod having arrived with a reinforcement from Bombay took up the command of the whole army.

Tipu, on reaching Ponnani encamped in front of the English army and made preparations for an effectual assault. On November 25, with the assistance of Lally, he made a regular and vigorous attack on the English line. But the strong position occupied by Macleod obliged Tipu to retreat to his former

---

(83) Wilks: Vol. II, P. 30.

(84) Memoirs of Tippoo Sultan, (Miles) P. 264.

(85) Wilks, II, PP. 36-7.

(86) Mly. Cons., Jan., 1783, Vol. 85 A, P. 144.

position. (87). Wilks observes that Tipu after his ineffectual attempt retired a further distance to await the arrival of his heavy equipments in order to resume the attack on the position of Pennani. "But on the 12th of December, the swarm of light troops which had continued to watch the English position was invincible, and successive reports confirmed the intelligence that the whole Mysorean force was proceeding by forced marches to the eastward." (88). Having received the sad news of the death of his father (89), Tipu suddenly broke up his camp and proceeded with all possible haste to Seringapatam. (90). Before he left the place, he ordered Arshed Beg Khan to take charge of the Government of Malabar and to remain on the defensive at Palghat. (91).

No doubt Haider Ali's achievements on the Malabar Coast was great. But only a few years remained under him without wars. The consolidation of his conquered territory was thus interrupted by these hostilities. Haider's death in the midst of the Second Anglo-Mysore War left Malabar in an unsettled political state.

#### Relation of Haider Ali with the Rajas of Cochin and Travancore.

No study of Haider Ali's rule in Kerala would be complete without an examination of his relations with the ruling chiefs and princes. This problem has been considered to some extent in the previous sections. In the present section, an attempt has been made to trace his relations with the two most important chiefs, the Rajas of Cochin and Travancore. Apart from the importance of the two chiefs, the

---

(87) Sec.Cons., Nos. 17-19, dated January 23, 1783.

(88) Wilks: Vol.II, pp.37-8.

(89) Sec.Cons., Nos., dated January 6, 1783.

(90) Catalogue and Memoirs of Tipu Sultan, p.265.

(91) Mly.Cons., Feb., 1783, Vol., 86A, p.719.

study of Haider Ali's relation with them would indicate the fundamental basis of the policy towards the rulers and princes of Kerala.

Haider Ali reached Calicut in the year 1766 after defeating the Rajas of Chirakal and Kozhikode. He called upon the other two important rulers of Kerala, the Rajas of Cochin and Travancore to become his tributary. (1). Rama Varma, the defacto ruler of Cochin, became a vassal of the ruler of Mysore through the intermediary of the Dutch (2) and agreed to pay two lakhs of rupees and eight elephants annually. (3). This was done in consultation with the Raja of Travancore. Dutch Records say that he not only advised the Cochin Raja to do so, but also lent him money for it, in order to induce Haider Ali not to become further south than the Zamorin's territory. (4).

The relation of Cochin as a vassal and Mysore as suzerain was continued unhampered. Cochin records indicate that Haider often wrote friendly letters to the Raja and sent him costly presents every year. (5). The only instance of a quarrel with the Raja occurred in 1776, when he supported the Dutch in a dispute over certain lands around the Chetwa Fort and also defaulted his tribute amount. (6). Consequent upon this, Sardar Khan marched against him and reached Trichur (7). This insensate act of the Raja forced the Mysoreans to make a show of arms against the Cochin Raja. But the case was soon amicably settled. (8). The Mysore General agreed to withdraw

- 
- (1) See D.R., No. 13, P.154.
  - (2) Buchanan: Vol.III, P.432.
  - (3) C.R.E., L. LXXI, 1st S, No.176.
  - (4) D.R., No.13, P.156.
  - (5) Vide L.LXXI, L.VIII, 1st S.
  - (6) L.VIII, Dis.No.166.
  - (7) Buchanan: Vol.II, P.361.
  - (8) L.LXXI, S.I, No.175.

the army provided Cochin would pay a nuzzer of two lakhs of pagodas and eight elephants at once and an annual tribute of fifty thousand pagodas. (9). But Sardar Khan allowed the Raja to represent his case before Haider Ali when the latter pleaded that the amount demanded was too large to the resources of the State. (10). Haider Ali disposed the matter most favourably when the Raja placed his case before him. He reduced the nuzzer to a lakh of pagodas, inclusive of the nuzzer and tribute from Cranganore. (11). Accordingly, Sardar Khan returned when assurance was given by the Raja to the effect that he would regularly remit the promised amount annually. Thereafter, no act of high-handedness from the part of Mysoreans occurred. Their relation with the Raja was "decent, gentle and decorous" (12). All kinds of favours were bestowed upon him. Even the vexed question of Perumpadappu and other villages in Vennari, which have been out of Cochin's possession for over a century, was decided in her favour, when their importance to Cochin was brought to the notice of Haider Ali. (12-b).

Despite all these friendly connections, the Raja hated his relation with Mysore. It was due to an apprehension of Haider Ali's power and designs, the Raja preferred to be a vassal to the Mysorean conqueror. (13). From the very beginning he had fixed up everything with the consent of the Raja of Travancore, the inveterate enemy of Mysore. (14). When the

---

(9) L.VIII, S.I, No.161.

(10) Ibid.

(11) Ibid.

(12) Sakthan Thampuran, Op.Cit., P.142.

(12-b) L. VII, Dis.No.166.

(13) L. LXXI, S. I, No.176.

(14) D.R., No.13, P.156.



Dutch possession of Chetwa and Cranganore was attacked by Sardar Khan, the Raja of Cochin served the Dutch and tried to harm the Mysorean interests which can be traced from his correspondence with the then Dutch Governor Van Angelbeck. (15). In the year 1782, when the Second Anglo-Mysore War was at its pitch, the Cochin Raja allowed the Raja of Travancore to erect a fort at Paliport and dig trenches around it, ignoring the protest registered by the Dutch. (16). to impede the expected expedition of the Mysorean army against the Travancore territory. It was with his connivance, again, the Neduncottah (Travancore Lines) was strengthened and extended to the Cranganore Fort by the Raja of Travancore through his territory. (17).

Throughout his relation the Raja was intriguing with the Raja of Travancore and the Dutch against the Mysoreans. A number of letters written by him to the Supreme Council of Batavia, requesting military help to get him relieved of the vassalage from Mysore have come to light. A letter dated September 18, 1773 to which the Governor-General of East Indies replied on November 13, 1774, makes it clear that the Raja was conspiring against Mysore<sup>an</sup> even from the early stage of his relation with that State. (18). In the year 1782, when the affairs of Malabar was at stake, due to the successive defeat of Sardar Khan and Mukhdum Ali, by the English, the Raja showed an inclination to join with the English, but was stopped by the Dutch Governor who warned him of "the severe consequences if he incurred the displeasure of Haider Ali," (19). In the month of January of the same year, Angelbeck advised the Raja to take refuge in Travancore, if he was afraid of any invasion

---

(15) L. LXI/A, S. I, No.4, P.2711.

(16) L. LXVI, S. I, No. 31, P.2760.

(17) Ibid, No. 32, P.2762.

(18) Letter from J.W.F.Riberio, Governor-General of Indies, to the Raja of Cochin, dated November 13, 1774.

(19) L. LXII, S. I, PP.2760-61, Van Angelbeck to the Raja of Cochin, dated November 11, 1782, Nos.31 and 32.

from Haider Ali (20). His fear was probably due to the fact that he was playing trick on the Mysoreans by apparently showing friendliness and at the same time conspiring with their enemies against them.

When Sardar Khan proceeded to lay siege to Tellichery in 1780, he requested the Raja to allow him to take with him, a contingent of 1000 Nair soldiers of Cochin who were stationed in Calicut, "for the uncongenial task of assisting the Mysoreans to put down the disturbances caused by the Zamorin's Nairs," (21) the Raja objected to it on the plea that as he had no quarrel with the English, he was reluctant to act offensively against them (22). Thus it can be summed up that the relation of the Raja of Cochin with Haider Ali was conditioned by fear alone though Haider Ali was apparently keen to show him goodwill.

Relation with Travancore. Haider Ali wanted to conquer the Kingdom of Travancore after his Malabar conquest. When the Dutch Officers met him at Calicut in the year 1766, on behalf of the Raja of Cochin, he proposed to them an offensive and defensive alliance and guaranteed immunity to the Raja of Cochin from invasion as he was allied with the Dutch, but purposely omitted the mention of Travancore (1). On his part, Haider Ali had his own grievances against the Raja of Travancore. When Haider Ali was Faujdar of Dindigal, in the years 1750-51, Marthanda Varma, the ruler of Travancore requested military help from Haider Ali (2), to quell the refractory Nair nobility of his country who had raised

---

(20) Ibid, dated January 21, 1702, No.16, P.2746.

(21) Cochin State Manual, P.124.

(22) L. IXVI, S. I.

(1) Moens: Memorandum etc., P.154.

(2) N.K. Sinha: Haider Ali, Vol.I, P.262.

the standard of revolt against him.(3). Haider Ali promised to send a powerful army and made necessary military preparations. The news of Haider Ali's military support alarmed the nobles and frightened them so much that all of them submitted obediently to the will and pleasure of the Raja(4). The immediate submission of the Nair nobility freed the Raja from the threatened internal disorder. Therefore, Marthanda Varma, intimated Haider Ali, declining the offer of assistance. Haider Ali claimed the expenses he had incurred in this respect.(5). But the Raja made evasive replies.(6). When this claim was overlooked by Marthanda Varma, Haider Ali, decided to wait and watch the course of events and wreak his vengeance when opportunity would arise. Pressed by the Dutch Officers, Haider Ali, however, agreed to return without 'paying a visit to Travancore', provided the Raja paid him 15 lakhs of rupees and 30 elephants (7). To this the Raja did not agree on the ground that being tributary to Nawab Mohamed Ali of Carnatic, he could not pay tributes to both sides.(8). As the rainy season was about to commence, Haider Ali returned from Malabar without realising his dream of conquest of Travancore. In 1768, Haider Ali made military preparations to fulfil his desire of conquering Travancore(9). But it was averted by the discovery of the intention of the English, who were on a war-path against Mysore. This caused the departure of the army for Travancore to be suspended (10). Again in the year 1775, Sardar Khan came with 10,000 men with the intention of conquering

- 
- (3) Sankunni Menon: History of Travancore, P.150.  
(4) P.R.S. Raja: Medieval Kerala, P.211.  
(5) E.E. Sinha: Op.Cit., P.263.  
(6) P.Raman Menon: Sakthan Thampuran, P.70.  
(7) D.R., No.13, R154.  
(8) Francis Day: The Land of Parumals, P.144.  
(9) M.M.D.L.T.: History of Hyder Shah etc., PP.93, 94.  
(10) Moens: Op.Cit., P.154.

Travancore.(11). He tried in vain to get a passage through the Dutch territory of Cranganore for his army towards Travancore.(12). Failing in his attempt to secure a free passage, Sardar Khan captured the Fort of Cranganore and the next few months were spent in skirmishes with the Dutch round Chetve and Cranganore.(13). Meanwhile Haider Ali came into an open rupture with the English and the Nawab of Carnatic. Thus the scheme of conquering Travancore was not materialised during Haider's life time.

The Raja was also not keeping quite. He strengthened his northern frontiers by the famous Travancore Lines (Meduncottah) (13), and created a standing army which was so far unknown.(14) to this 'land of Perumals'. The Raja of Cochin was persuaded by him to accept the suzerainty of Mysore, so that a buffer State between his and Haider Ali's Malabar possessions could be created.(15). He indulged in inciting rebellions in Malabar (16) with the help of fugitive princes to whom he had given shelter in his kingdom (17), with a view to keeping the Mysoreans engaged in confronting the internal problems of Malabar. Rama Varma, the successor of Marthanda Varma and the Raja of Travancore, continued vigorously his hostile activities against Haider Ali and showed definite inclination towards the English(18).

Now He allowed the English army to pass through his territory on their way to attack Mahe, the French possession

---

(11) Egn.(Sec.) Cons., No.7, February 3, 1775.

(12) Dya: Land of Perumals, Op.Cit., P.153.

(13) The Land of Perumals, P.144.

(14) P.K. Palakrishnan: Tipu Sultan, P.290.

(15) Mens: 'Memorandum etc', P.156.

(16) Tellichery Factory Diary, April 2, 1780.

(17) Egn.(Misc) S.No. 56, Part I, Voucher No.4, P.69.

(18) H.K. Sinha: Haider Ali, Vol.I, P.265.

in Malabar, in the year 1778, ignoring the protest registered by the Dutch (19). Acknowledging this service of the Raja, the Select Committee recorded, "the Raja of Travancore allowed the Honourable Company's army to pass through his territory and gave abundance of food and provisions for them." (20). "I know very well that you are the most sincere friend of the English in India", wrote Colonel Bamberstone, to the Raja of Travancore, "I shall let the Governor and Council know the services rendered by you especially to the army led by me." (21). On October 20, 1776, the Raja wrote to the Governor, Fort St. George, Madras, that Haider Ali's army attacked the Dutch Fort of Cranganore and "some shells fell close to my fort" (22), and requested help from the Company. When the Second Anglo-Mysore War broke out, the Raja actively helped the English by sending two battalions of his soldiers (23) and aiding the Nair rulers of Malabar to create disturbances in that area. (24). For these useful services, the English insisted to include him as 'a friend and ally' of the Company in the First Article of the Treaty of Mangalore which was concluded in the year 1784. (25).

The attitude of Haider Ali and later, of Tipu Sultan had driven the Raja closer and closer to the English camp. He had outwitted all, in his connivance to oust the Mysoreans from Malabar and avert 'the sword of Damocles' hanging over his head. Haider Ali and after him, Tipu Sultan at the same

---

(19) L. LXII, S. I, No. 17, P.2746

(20) Madras Select Committee to the Board of Directors, March 13, 1779.

(21) Colonel Bamberstone to the Raja of Travancore, March 27, 1782.

(22) Fgn. (1777), Sec.Cons., D, January 20, 1777.

(23) History of Travancore, Cp.Cit., P.163.

(24) Fgn. (Misc.) S.No. 55, P.36, Para.30.

(25) Logan: Treaties etc., I, XCIII.

time felt that the tranquillity of Malabar could be realised only if the Raja of Travancore who was privy to all rebellions in Malabar, was brought under submission. The development and culmination of this strained state of relation between Mysore and Travancore is attempted in the following Chapter. (26).

\*\*\*\*\*

---

(26) See Topic 'Relation of Tipu with the Rajas of Cochin and Travancore.'

## CHAPTER II

### POLITICAL SITUATION OF KERALA UNDER TIPU SULTAN

When the news of Haider Ali's death was conveyed to Tipu, he left Malabar to Seringapatam, leaving a contingent of Mysorean army under Arshed Beg Khan. Tipu succeeded his father without much opposition as was expected by his enemies. The peaceful succession gave him confidence to continue the war against the English more enthusiastically.

We have seen the position of the English army under Colonel Macleod in Malabar was highly dangerous when Tipu Sultan suddenly left from Malabar. Immediately after the dangerous situation under Colonel Macleod and Humberstone at Ponnani was known, the Bombay Government despatched urgently their Commander-in-Chief Brigadier General Mathews, to relieve them with such forces as were available. But General Mathews retraced his steps under special orders from Bombay(1), when he heard of the hasty retreat of the Mysorean forces from Malabar. The Madras Government who always entertained that Tipu

---

(1) Mly.Cons., February, 1783, Vol., 86A, P.719.

should be stripped off his Malabar possessions to carry out their lucrative business successfully (1-a), did not like the schemes of Bombay Government recalling the army from Malabar. But the Bombay Government considering the fertility of Bednore and the proximity of the place as to furnish conveyance and communications was strongly of the view that the English effort should primarily be exerted to possess this rich place. (2). This calculation of the Bombay Government was set at naught when these places were recaptured by Tipu Sultan.

Therefore to divert his attention from Carnatic, the English wanted to foment fresh troubles in Malabar. Colonel Fullerton was entrusted to carry out this English design. But an armistic was reached by this time between the English and Tipu Sultan, with specific terms of cease-fire to possess the same positions occupied by each, on the day of armistic was signed. (3). This did not have any effect on the offensive line adopted by Fullerton. He conspired with the Zamorin and the Raja of Travancore, to undo the truce provisions. Accordingly, Fullerton did not hesitate to march against Palghat, immediately after he had intelligence of Tipu recommencing hostilities against Mangalore. (4). "Palaghatcherry held forth every advantage," wrote Fullerton, "it was a place of first strength in India, while its territory afforded a superabundance of provisions.....If commanded, further the only practicable communication between the Coasts of Coramandel and Malabar and promised as possessions of all the countries.... in a reach of more than two hundred miles." (5). He continues

---

(1-a) Sec.Pro., January 20, 1783.

(2) Mly.Cons., February, 1782, Vol., 86A, P.746.

(3) Sec.Pro.No.10, 1783.

(4) Mly.Sundry Book, Vol.61, 1784, P.87.

(5) Ibid, 1785, Vol.66, P.97.



to say that it was besides of such intrinsic consequence to the Mysore Government that the reduction of it could not fail to weigh essentially in the negotiations for peace.(6), "then said to be in agitation and promised to make Tipu Sultan to raise the siege of Mangalore to oppose our farther progress." (8).

Though the idea was good, "this invasion of the Mysore territory was a distinct violation of the armistic of Mangalore" (8). When the Commander of Tipu protested, the Madras Government through a letter required Fullerton to stop his further advance. But he did not care the least and proceeded with the scheme of laying siege to the Fort.(9). "The fortunate circumstances attending our attack," observes Fullerton, "and the surrender of the place during night, are explained in my letter of 15th November" (10). The circumstances that favoured them was that the garrison inside the fort under the impression of the armistic did not attach much vigilance and care in defending it.(11). But Wilks finds the fall so easy because that the honourable Captain Maitland, being on duty in the trenches, had taken advantage of a heavy fall of rain to drive the enemy from the covered way which was not palisaded and pursuing the fugitives through the first and second gate-ways, struck such a panic into the garrison so as to cause its immediate surrender.(12). After describing the process of conquest, Fullerton asserts, "on the surrender of Palaghatcherry, I appointed Captain Dewar, to command there.... the heir apparent to the Zamorin left his retirements in the

---

(6) Ibid.

(7) Fullerton: A view of English interest in India. PP.26-7.

(8) Mohibbul Hasan Khan: Op.Cit., P.41.

(9) Mly.Sundry Book, 1785, Vol.66, P.103.

(10) Fullerton: A view of English interest in India. P.29.

(11) Mly.Sundry Book, 1783, Vol.60A, PP.107-8.

(12) Wilks: Vol.II, P.80

woods and remained with me during the siege....In answer to his urgent solicitations that I should restore him to his dominions..... I declared that in the event of our moving by Calicut, I hoped to effect his establishment there and that in the meanwhile he should be reinstated in the territory of Palghat.....requiring only from him that he should furnish grain for the army while in that vicinity.(13). These correspondence of Fullerton with those he had received from Macarteny (14) proves beyond doubt that though apparently the English Government did not approve the violation of the armistice, everything was done with the connivance and support of the Company's superior authorities.

Palghat had been occupied by the Zamorin as soon as the English force retired. But he could not hold it any longer. When the English force marched away from Palghat, the Zamorin's force despairing of support had abandoned the place and retired into the mountains.(15).

Another serious event in Malabar during the Second Anglo-Mysore War was the attack on the Cannanore Kingdom by

---

(13) A view of English interest in India, P.30.

(14) My.Sundry Book, Vol. 60B, P.383, Macarteny to Fullerton, December 13, 1783. Also see Ibid, Vol.66, 1785, P.129.

(15) Logan: Vol.I, P.442.

Fullerton in his narrative gives the following curious account of the reasons for abandoning the Fort: "The Zamorin and his followers of the Nair caste are rigid gentoos and venerate the Brahmins. Tippu's soldiers, therefore, daily exposed the heads of many Brahmins in sight of the Fort. It is asserted the Zamorin rather than witness such enormities choose to abandon Palghatcherry.(Fullerton, Op.Cit., P.41). All historians of Kerala fully endorse this irrational and fantastic story of Fullerton except Mr.K.P.Padmanabha Menon who writes that the Zamorin had run away leaving the Fort at the very sight of the Mysorean army in fear of the Sultan.(K.P.Padmanabha Menon: History of Cochin State, Vol.II, P.480). See Zamorins of Kozhikode, P.224.

Macleod under the pretext that the Beebi\* of Cannanore, had made prisoners of Englishmen who were driven ashore by heavy storm and were not returned to the Company. (16). But the actual motive was that he wanted to keep his army engaged in plundering and also to possess, if possible, this covetous principality. Cannanore surrendered after six days of heroic and valient fighting. Beebi and the whole of her family were made prisoners. (17). On condition of a tribute of three lakhs of pagodas annually, she was released and her territory was restored (18). The Madras Government was delighted by these tidings but the action was dis-approved by the Bombay Government.

"The Bibi of Cannanore and the Rajas or Zamindars of Malabar Coast", were included as friends and allies of Tipu in the First Article of the Treaty of Mangalore and as such the Bombay Government who was eager to wind up the war did not want to imparil it by recognising the actions of Macleod towards Cannanore. In the 11th day of March, 1784, the Treaty of Mangalore was signed. Directions were issued to restore the Kingdom of Cannanore undisturbed (19). But it was only after a month that Cannanore was evacuated.

The whole Malabar possession of Tipu thus emerged once more as a part of his Kingdom. With the cession of hostilities, complete peace was restored in Malabar. The Nair soldiers who helped the English "in obtaining grain for the army and showing the routes of the country," retired to their mountainous abode once again.

---

\*Beebi means Madam. Her name was Valiya Beebi (great Madam).

(16) Sac.Pro., May 13, 1784.

(17) Ibid, April 13, 1784.

(18) Ibid.

(19) Ibid, May 13, 1784.

Relation of Tipu with  
the Raja of Cochin.

The relation of Tipu Sultan with the Cochin Kingdom deserves special treatment, as it reveals the real policy of Mysore rulers towards their dependents. Though this small Kingdom was not sufficiently strong from a military point of view, nor did it play a conspicuous role in the political drama, during the period under review, its relation with Mysore throws a flood of light upon some of the important points of Mysore-Kerala relations.

All relevant records of this period undoubtedly show that Tipu was quite friendly to the Raja of Cochin throughout his relation. He was always prepared to re-dress his grievances when they were brought to his notice. Some of such instances are worth mentioning in this connection. The Raja made a representation to Tipu Sultan that some of his territories were also occupied by the Faujdar of Malabar. Tipu disposed of the case in his favour and ordered to return the disputed lands with the amount of revenue collected from that area till then. (1). The Raja of Cochin was exempted from the customs duty levied at Chetwai and Edathuruthy, when Rama Varma, who is entitled as 'Sakthan Thampuran', the ruler of Cochin, made a request to this effect to Tipu Sultan. (2). This was a matter of dispute with the English after the Raja became a tributary ally of the Company. A series of correspondence range the issue in which the Raja reiterates his claim of exemption from Customs duties for the passage of timber, rice, etc. quoting precedent from Tipu's time. (3). Again, when reports reached Tipu Sultan that his officers of Palghat collected

---

(1) Central Records, Ernakulam: L.II, S. II, No.182.

(2) List IV, 1st Series, Dis.No.76. Also see History of Cochin State, Vol.II, P.452.

(3) L. IV, 1st Series, Dis.No.75.

customs from the subjects of Cochin Raja, he immediately reacted by rebuking the officers and reminded them not to forget that the Raja of Cochin and his subjects were his dependents. (4). The question of the small principality of Cranganore which was leased out to Cochin, by the Mysore rulers, cropped up in a controversy between the 'Malabar Commissioners' and the Raja of Cochin, the evidence produced by the Raja was the firman and the receipts issued by Tipu and his officers. (5). So also when there was disputes on Chetwai, Naviyara and Cranganore, between the Zamorin and the Raja of Cochin, the English took a decision in favour of the Raja depending on the letters sent to him by Tipu Sultan relating to these transactions. (6). Regarding Paroor, Alangad and Pongattayar, Tipu wrote to the 'Commissioners' when referred to him, that they belonged to Cochin. He said "these districts did not formerly belong to the Travancore Raja, nor at the commencement of the war, but he had possessed them from sometime by force" (7).

The Raja in his letter to Tipu Sultan, in reply to his, assured him, that he had expelled from his territory Thecha Gaunda and Somandara Gaunda with their families who had escaped to his Kingdom after committing criminal deeds in the Mysore territory. (8). An official procedure adopted by Tipu in dismissing a petition addressed to him by some merchants residing in the Cochin territory also unfolds to us an interesting chapter of Mysorean diplomatic history. Come

---

(4) L. LXII, 1st Series, No. 228.

(5) Fgn. (Misc.) S.No. 55, P.411.

(6) Ibid, pp.380 to 408, Paras 514 to 518. Also L.IV, 1st series, No.131.

(7) Fgn. (Misc.) S. No. 55, P.153, Para.154.

(8) L. XV, 1st series, No.234, P.1098.

merchants from Cochin complained to Tipu Sultan in a petition, against heavy taxes levied from them by the Officers of the Raja. Tipu dismissed the petition with the remark that since the matter represented was under the jurisdiction of the Raja, the petition was forwarded for his information(9). Thus it is clear that Cochin had no reason to complain against the treatment of Mysore Government.

When Tipu Sultan arrived in Malabar in the year 1788 (10), he required the Raja to meet him at Palghat. (11). The Raja was received most politely and on his departure loaded with costly presents. (12). In the course of their conversation, Tipu who was endowed with a subtle intellect and keen power of analysis, intimately acquainted with the affairs of Travancore hinted on his intention of conquering the Kingdom. (13). To avert such an eventuality he required the Raja to use his good offices with Travancore for a judicious compromise. (14).

---

(9) Ibid No. 238; P.1128

(10) Egn. (Misc.) S.No. 56, Part I, P.95.

(11) L. LXII, C.I, No.176.

(12) Sakthan Thampuran, P.139.

(13) L. LXII, S. I, No.175.

(14) Ibid.

Those who wrote on the subject say that the relation between Cochin and Mysore was one of friendship till Tipu Sultan wanted the Raja to help him in his designs against Travancore, which was demanded of him when he had his interview with Tipu Sultan at Palghat. This general remark is due to the lack of understanding of the shifts and devices of the Raja's policy. His intrigues to shake off his vassalage are evident in his hostile activities and unfriendly letters written to the Dutch Governors and the Raja of Travancore some of which were brought out in the preceding topic.

The consternation in the Raja's camp when he was required to meet Tipu is described by the author of 'Sakthan Thampuran' (P.137-139). Raja believed that Tipu had evil intentions and therefore all veteran Brahmins were required to perform yagas and Poojas. (Ibid). The High Priest of the Palace accompanied him. (Ibid). The nervousness felt by the Raja was because of his own guilt and fear of severe consequences if his machinations were accounted to by Tipu Sultan.

Immediately after returning from Palghat, the whole discussions were communicated to the Dutch and the Raja of Travancore. On his correspondence of this matter, the Raja received a letter from the Governor-General, Dutch East Indies, in which he wrote, ".....in order to avert calamities have been compelled to make a voyage to Palaghatcherry to meet Tipu Sultan, and your Highness has detected at the conference .....the dangerous undertakings, which the same has in his mind against South Malabar (Travancore) of which the Lord Governor too has informed me" (15). The Raja continued his request to the Dutch for military help to prevent any possible attack from Tipu Sultan. (16). Writing in the year 1789, the Raja communicates the helpless state of Cochin before the power of Tipu Sultan and requests "if necessary help is not forthcoming, Tipu Sultan will commit atrocities in all Malabar"(17). He continues his letter to ~~see~~ repeat the demand of "sufficient number of war ships, arms, and ammunitions, should be despatched" (18) to him. The reply received by the Raja for these letters were not encouraging. The Governor-General of Dutch East Indies regretted in his letter, his inability to send the necessary force. (19). Thus it was clear to the Raja that neither the Supreme Council at Batavia, nor their Governor in Malabar Coast, could help him in case he would break his ties with Tipu Sultan.

Therefore, side by side to his correspondence with the Dutch, he began overtures with the English through the intermediary of the Raja of Travancore. The Dutch Governor himself knew the development of this new relation of the Raja

---

(15) L. LXXI, 1st Series No. 176. The Governor-General of Netherland Indies to the Raja of Cochin, September 10, 1789.

(16) L. LXXI/A, Series I.

(17) L. LXXI, 1st Series No. 175.

(18) Ibid No. 175.

(19) Ibid No. 176.

with the English when he had received from other sources the copy of a letter sent by the Raja to the English Governor of Madras. On receipt of this information, Van Angelbeck, the Dutch Governor wrote to the Raja on June 24, 1790, intimating to him that he received a letter from the Governor of Madras in which he wrote that the Raja was willing to break away with Tipu and enter into an alliance with the English. (20). On July 15, 1790, a letter embodying conditions that would be stipulated when alliance was made with the English was communicated by Van Angelbeck to the Raja (21). "Mr. Downey sent me a copy of the draft of the treaty to be concluded between your Highness and the English", again wrote the Dutch Governor on August 4, 1790, to the Raja. He continued to say "he (Downey) requested me to abide by it and I shall do so" (22). The proposed alliance came into effect from September 25, 1790, eventhough the signature fixed to it by the Madras Council dates only February 2, 1791 (23). Subsequently the Raja helped the English in the Third Anglo-Mysore War.

Despite to these developments, Tipu did not become his enemy. Even after his Malabar possessions were ceded to the English after the Treaty of Seringapatam, Tipu continued to display his countenance and sympathy to the Raja of Cochin. When a usual dispute arose between the Zamorin and the Raja of Cochin over boundary questions and both parties poured

---

(20) L. LXII, Series I, No.166, P.2895.

(21) Ibid, No. 167, PP:2896-99.

(22) Ibid, No. 168, PP.2899-2900.

(23) Egn.(Misc.) S.No. 55, PP.79-80, Para.73.



possible evidence in favour of their respective claims, the 'Malabar Commissioners' referred the matter to Tipu Sultan to assess his opinion. Giving surprise to all parties concerned, Tipu wrote "to this silly matter why do you make Cochin suffer the loss" (24). This was at a time when his heart was weighed down by the loss of his Malabar territory and the wound that was inflicted on him by the Raja of Cochin who joined with the English in toppling his power in Malabar, was not healed. If Tipu hated him these opportunities would have usefully availed by him to wreak his vengeance. Throughout his relation, Tipu maintained the same dignity and politeness. No doubt it was not necessitated by any sense of fear or motivated by any kind of selfish interest. In fact, it reveals the consistency that was predominant in the character of Tipu Sultan. (25).

These favourable reports sent by Tipu and his friendly disposition towards the Raja made the English to suspect and even to allege that the Raja was secretly carrying on correspondence with Tipu, and the French with a view of ousting the English from Malabar (26). In a letter written by the Raja in answer to Major Duncan, one of the 'Malabar Commissioners', in the year 1794, confesses that he neither received nor sent any letter to Tipu Sultan and had no relation at all with him. The Raja continued that all these false stories "are coined and propagated by my enemies to land me a victim of the wrath of the Honourable Company to which I swear never deserve...." (27).

---

(24) Ibid, P.383, Para. 515.

(25) Vide Topic on 'the Failures of Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan'.

(26) Ibid, P.95.

(27) L. VII, Series I, Dis. No. 165.

The Raja had to swear a lot to convince the English that he had no relation of any kind either with Tipu or with the French. In another letter, he goes on abusing the French for murdering their emperor and shedding blood in the course of the French Revolution to show he was deadly against them. (28).

From the foregoing descriptions, it can safely be concluded that not a single untoward incident can be made out against the ruler of Mysore in his relation with the princely state of Cochin. But the Raja wanted to be free from the vassalage at the earliest opportunity as any other ruler would like-wise attempt. Therefore, his relation was intriguing. But the observation of the author of 'Cochin State Manual' is not correct. (29).

One thing is certain that the relation with Mysore for nearly a quarter of a century had great impetus in the administrative set up of the country. The land tax was first introduced in Cochin when the Raja was hard-pressed to make

---

(28) List XXXVII/A, S. I, No. 349/A.

(29) After enumerating and acknowledging the favours conferred on the Raja of Cochin and the friendly attitude showed always by Tipu Sultan, the Author of Cochin State Manual sincerely speaks out with singular precision, the reason why despite all these the Raja did not like his relation with Mysore in these words: "With all this, his subjection to a Mohammedan usurper of Mysore was left as an irksome burden by Cochin...." This is highly eloquent by itself. This can be treated only as his opinion. With these historians, it was not the inflexible candour and consistency nor the unshuffled serenity of temper and judicious spirit of compromise that were counted but unmistakably was the religion of the conqueror. (Cochin State Manual, P.124.)

money to remit his tribute. (30). Probably the source of income to raise the tribute money might also have been pointed out to the Raja by the Mysore ruler. The land revenue system introduced in Malabar by the Mysoreans, might also have influenced the Raja to turn in this direction. The important roads of Cochin were constructed during this period following the example of Tipu's roads in Malabar. (31). Trade monopoly was also planned and carried out to a limited extent again inspired by the Mysorean example. In short all that were assigned to Sakthan Thampuran as the great administrative innovations were all inspired and sometimes instructed by the Mysorean pioneers.

Relation of Tipu with  
the Kingdom of Travancore.

We have seen the relation between Mysore under Haider Ali and Travancore under Marthanda Varma and after him; his successor Rama Varma, who was known as 'Dharma Raja', was amical. Haider Ali always held dear the dream of conquest of Travancore (1). But it remained so without realising it. At all times when he made preparations for the conquest of Travancore, "some unforeseen events" always diverted his

---

(30) K.P. Padmanabha Menon: History of Cochin State, Vol. II, P. 428. He writes "when Greenivas Rao compelled him to clear off the promised amount of 100,000 varaham, towards war expenses and tribute a tax of two 'panam' on land north of Travancore lines and six 'puthens' south of it per 'para' of paddy field were levied to make up the sum."

(31) Buchanan, Vol. II, P. 370.

(1) Hoens says that Haider Ali dictating terms for immunity from invasion of Travancore told him that "he should prevail on Travancore also to pay a substantial sum. If the latter was not inclined to, 'he would pay him a visit'." (Hoens: P. 154).

attention to some other parts of his Kingdom.(2). It would have been easy for him under the then political set up to materialise his dream of conquest without even courting a major war with the English, because they were not prepared to come into an open hostility with Haider Ali.(3).

But the situation changed very much in favour of Rama Varma, when he was included by the English 'as a friend and ally' of the Company in the Treaty of Mangalore (4) after the Second Anglo-Mysore war. As the trends of the time required of any shrewd politician to adjust accordingly, Tipu also reacted suitably. Instead of an aggressive policy of 'demanding vassalage', from Travancore, as Haider Ali had done, Tipu's policy was to appease the Raja and win over him by settling peacefully the outstanding disputes with him.(5). On the other hand, Rama Varma, "confident of English support"(6) not only ignored the friendly overtures of Tipu but also continued his hostile activities breaking thereby the provisions of the Treaty of Mangalore, (7) to which he was also one of the signatories. Thus, the Mysore-Travancore relation during the time of Tipu presents an absolutely different picture than the time of his father.

The Raja persisted to obtain an English detachment to

---

(2) 'History of Hyder Shah' etc., pp.93-94.

(3) Fgn.and Home Dept. Sec.Cons., No.1, 1756-80.

(4) Logan: Treaties etc, 1, XCIII.

(5) "I understand from what the Raja of Cochin said of you", wrote Tipu to Rama Varma, "that you are a good man and great ruler who wants to be friendly with our Sircar. Since you are prudent and wise, you can presume the benefit that may accrue from my allying with you...I am sending my vakeels with the presents of some jewels, a horse and a dress for your kind acceptance..."(Mithalakom Records, Curuna, 1308, FF.74-75). The request here is for alliance, not for vassalage, clearly unfolds the shift of Mysorean policy.

(6) Logan: Malabar Manual, Vol.I, P.409.

(7) History of Tipu Sultan, P.154.

be stationed in his territory to make sure of the Company's support. Archibald Campbell wrote on August 12, 1788 about the "inconvenience of the Company" to comply with the Raja's request to send officers to command the Travancore army. (8). However, he forwarded the Raja's letter to the Governor-General with a recommendation to the effect that if the Raja paid the expenses of two or three battalions of the English army that might be stationed at his Kingdom, "the matter may be taken up and disposed favourably" (9). Again, the Raja wrote to Archibald Campbell on September 1, 1788, that the proposal to station an contingent in the island of Ayyicottah as mentioned in his letter would not serve the "purpose proposed" as a force in the Travancore territory. "Our object undoubtedly would be to have the troops stationed in the place from where they could with greatest ease and expedition invade Tippoo's country..." (10). The Raja finally succeeded in obtaining two battalions of Company's native infantry to be stationed in the frontiers of his territory. (11). It is obvious that Rama Varma followed an offensive line against Tipu Sultan.

Since he never wanted a <sup>p</sup> rapprochement with Tipu, who according to him unjustly deprived his brother rulers of Malabar and made a vassal of Cochin and showed always a threat to his Kingdom, Rama Varma continued vigorously, as any other prudent politician should resort to in such circumstances, to strengthen his frontiers, improve his militia and do whatever he could to please the English to bag their support. With the

---

(8) Fgn.Dept.Sec.and Pol.Pro.-1, September 22, 1788. S.No.92, P.3461.

(9) Ibid, P.3462.

(10) Ibid, P.3467.

(11) Sec.Cons.No.2, dated March,18, 1789.

connivance of the Raja of Cochin, he constructed a fort at Palliport in the year 1782 (12), about which the Dutch Governor wrote to the Raja of Cochin in protest that he was surprised to hear that the Travancore had sent masons and coolies to dig trenches and erect a fort at Palliport. He continued to say that Rama Varma, the King of Travancore, had nothing to do with that island and that considering the alliance of the Company, "your Highness ought to have at once informed us"(13). Again, on the same subject, Van Angelbeck, the Dutch Governor, expressed, in strong terms his disapprobation, to the Raja of Cochin.(14). Rama Varma extended the Travancore Lines through the territory of the Raja of Cochin up to the Fort of Cranganore, thus cutting the small Kingdom of Cochin into two unequal divisions. Tipu required the Raja to demolish that part of the Lines that run through the territory of Cochin who was his tributary.(15). The Raja not only ignored this on the ground that it was essential for the safety of his country.(16) but also began negotiations with the Dutch for the purchase of their forts at Cranganore and Pallipuram (Ayylcottah) with the same intention.(17). He stirred up rebellions in Malabar and even appealed to the Governor of Madras to render possible help to the rebels for capturing their lost power and territory.(18). Engaged thus busily to sabotage the Mysorean power in Kerala, the Raja of Travancore, as it was

---

(12) Ibid No12, dated February 25, 1789.

~~1212~~ Also see Day: Land of Parumals, p.144.

(13) L. LXII, S. I, No. 31, P.2760, dated November 11, 1782.

(14) Ibid No. 32, P.2761.

(15) Mly.Cons., January 1, 1790, Powney to Holland, December 18, 1789, Vol. 133 A. P.5.

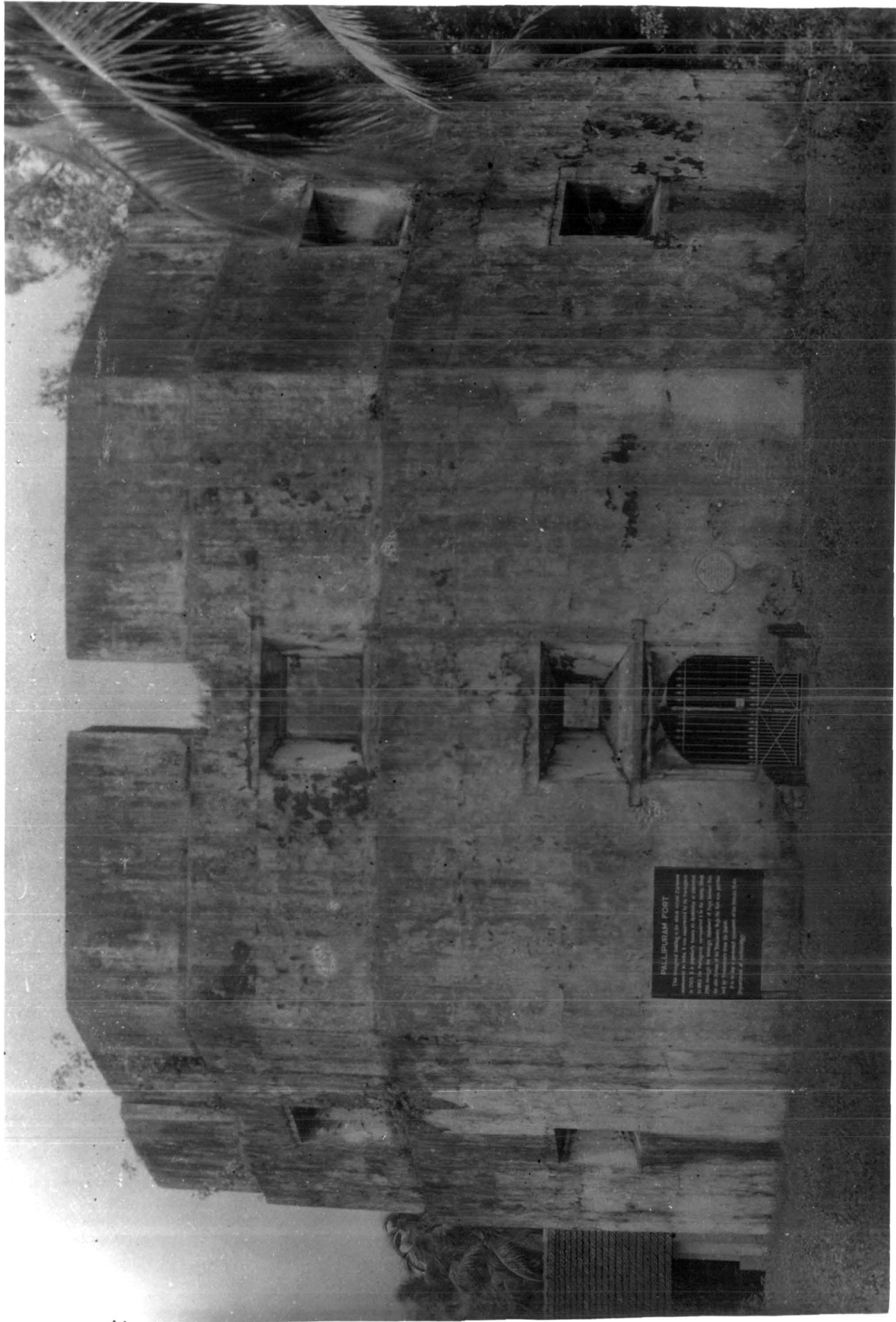
(16) The Lines, the Raja upheld were erected more than 25 years with the consent of the Raja of Cochin who then was not a tributary to Mysore. (See P.R.C.No. 52, pp.49-50).

(17) Egn.Pol.Sec.Pro., S.No. 96A, Part II, pp.2555-2562, Raja to Holland.

(18) Mly.Country Correspondence, Vol.38, No.59 dated June 10, 1789, Raja to Holland.

## PALLIPURAM FORT

*(First European Fort Built in India  
by the Portuguese in 1503, Captured  
by the Dutch in 1663 and Purchased  
by the Raja of Travancore in 1789)*



**PALLIPURAM FORT**  
The earliest building in the area under Portuguese rule, it was built in 1503 by the Portuguese. It was captured by the Dutch in 1663 and purchased by the Raja of Travancore in 1789. It is now a museum and a historical site.

natural when it was impossible for him to fight single handed against Tipu, bestowed whole-heartedly his confidence on 'his old Ally and Friend' - the English. (19).

Freed from the Maratta menace, Tipu turned his attention to Malabar affairs. He felt it imperative for the tranquillity of his Malabar possessions to settle either amicably or by show of force the dispute between him and Rama Varma of Travancore. He sent his vakeels to the Raja of Cochin to require him to prevail upon the Raja of Travancore for an amicable settlement of all disputes with him. (20). Tipu also sent his agents to Rama Varma, the Raja of Travancore with a letter to this effect and some costly presents for his kind acceptance. (21).

This letter was written in the month of June 1789, a month and a half earlier than the Raja purchased the Dutch forts of Pallipattin (Ayyicottah) and Cranganore (22). But this letter was read and its reply was written in consultation with Bannerman, the Company's representative (23), because he wrote in reply that he never adopted any measure without the concurrence of the English Government. (24). It is evident then, that all the subsequent developments that precipitated to a grave crisis and led to an open hostility were due to the machinations of the English, who were privy to all these hostile activities of the Raja. This can be further

---

(19) "I am an old friend to the Company. I rely upon the assistance of the English in case an attack from Tipoo ...." (Fgn.Pol.Sec.Pro.No.96 A, pp.2765-66).

(20) Ibid, From Chief of Tellichery to Holland, September 2, 1789, P.2393.

(21) Pathilakom Records, Caruna, 1308, P.75.

(22) History of Cochin State, Vol.II, P.478.

(23) Tipu Sultan, P.296.

(24) P.R.C., Vol.XII, No.52, P.49.



substantiated by the following testimonials.

Later in his correspondence with the Governor-General and Governor of Madras, the Raja openly admitted that he had his negotiations and purchase of these Forts from the Dutch with the knowledge of the Company. (25). Again Powney, the Resident of Travancore, was censured by Cornwallis for his unsatisfactory conduct in conniving with the Raja in these transactions. (26). Powney always maintained that the purchase was justified on the ground that the Dutch captured these places from the Portuguese and held independently of the Cochin Raja. He asks in his letter to Governor Holland, "I wonder how can Dutch be dependent of Cochin, when they were actual masters of Cochin?" (27). He concludes his letter with the remark that if this\* would provoke Tipu to commence hostilities against the Raja, he would have done everything in his power to restrain him from engaging from it. (28). Holland, the Madras Governor, who was strongly opposed to the Raja purchasing these forts, was confronted himself with the twists and turns of the Company's superiors. He had expressed this in his letter to Cornwallis intimating to him the instructions he had given to the Raja to give back to the Dutch the place he had purchased from them and also requiring

---

(25) Fgn.Pol.Sec.Pro., S.No. 96 A, PP.2751-55.

(26) Ibid, Cornwallis to Powney, December 15, 1789, P.2882.

(27) Ibid, Powney to Holland, P.2755.

\*Tipu claimed the Forts of Cranganore and Ayyicottah held by the Dutch on the strength of a 'Theetooram' given by the Raja of Cochin, and therefore they had no right to sell them out. He held that since these Forts were situated in the Cochin territory and the title of these places rests with that Raja, these should be handed over to Cochin or he being the suzerain of Cochin be given the right of pre-emption. On the other hand, the Raja contented that these Forts were captured by the Dutch from the Portuguese directly and thus the Cochin Raja himself had no claim over them. Hence they were free to sell them out. For a fuller treatment vide, History of Tipu Sultan by Prof. Mohibbul Hasan Khan, Chapter on 'the War with the Raja of Travancore', PP. 151 to 169.

(28) Ibid, P.2756.

from the Governor-General to make it clear to him "whether it is your intention that Tipu should be suffered to take possession of Cranganore and Ayyicottah if he should move with a force for that purpose." (29). Finally, Holland was censured by the Governor-General, (30) and was replaced by Madons, "who was very hostile to Tipu." (31). Cornwallis wrote to Holland "it is none of your business to sit in judgment on a policy formulated by the Company." (32), and required him to furnish explanation for the charges framed against him. From the above, it is obvious that all the English Officers persuaded the Raja to purchase these Latch forts by encouraging him with the sure prospect of English assistance in case there was a rupture on this issue. In fact the only person who strictly adhered to the principles laid down by the Council Proceedings of November 13, 1789 (33) was the Madras Governor, Holland, for which act of consistency he was censured!

On the part of Tipu, he sincerely believed that the Company would use its influence and good offices to meet justice as he had intelligence to that effect from them. He, therefore, continued his effort, for a peaceful settlement of the whole disputes with the Raja, through the intermediary of the Company. He wrote to Holland requiring him to ask the Raja to vacate his people from the Fort of Cranganore belonging to the Circar" (34). He made it clear in the same

---

(29) Ibid, 96 A, Sec.Pro., May 5, to July 2, 1790, November 11, 1789, P.2567.

(30) P.S.C., Vol.III, No.92, P.105.

(31) History of Tipu Sultan, P.164.

(32) Mill, J: - History of British India, Vol.V, P.343.

(33) Fgn.Col. - Sec.Pro. Nov., 13, 1789, P.2588-90.

(34) Ibid, S.No. 96A, Dec., 1789, Part II, P.2901.

communication that the Raja gives protection to the rebels of his place and incite them for disturbance and thus "the whole Calicut and other countries had been laid waste and destroyed"(35). This was dated October 30, 1789. Another letter of November 11, 1789, written by Tipu to Holland, makes out the following demands: (i) to advise the Raja of Travancore to release to him the rebel Rajas and Chieftains sheltered by him in his country; (ii) to vacate the Fort of Cranganore; (iii) and to demolish that part of Travancore Lines which run through the Cochin territory. (36).

These were written on the strength of assurance given by Holland in his letter to Tipu on October 10, 1789 in which he wrote that he had very much disapproved the conduct of the Raja negotiating a bargain for the purchase of Cranganore and Ayyicottah from the Dutch and that he had ordered a strict enquiry to be made into this business and if found that the above-mentioned places were not dependent on the Travancore District but belonged to the Dutch under the condition Tipu mentioned in his letter, he would order them again to be restored to the proper owners. (37). He continued to say, "this measure will manifest my resolution to act conformally to the engagements entered into with you and will prove my desire of using every means to maintain the friendship which subsists between the Honorable Company and your Circar..." (38).

This letter was written by Holland even after he had representation from Rana Varma, describing the history of the

---

(35) Ibid, P.2902.

(36) Ibid, Dec:1789, P.277.

(37) Ibid, Holland to Tipu, P.2571.

(38) Ibid.

subsequent change of sovereignty of these places from Portuguese to the Dutch and the necessity of keeping them for the security of his country.(39). Holland in a letter sent to the Governor-General on November 4, 1789, intimated the line of action he had adopted relating to the purchase of these Forts by the Raja and that he had advised him for obliging the Raja to give back to the Dutch the places he had purchased from them.(40). But George Powney in his long report about this meeting with the Minister of the Raja, submitted to the Governor-General, sums up the arguments of the minister of Travancore, that "these places were essential for the tranquillity of Travancore,"(41). Powney narrates the negotiations of Tipu's vakeels with the Dutch Governor, through the good offices of the Raja of Cochin, to induce him to sell the Fort of Cochin to him or at least to cancel the sales of Ayyicottah and Cranganore and made over to him for which he offered double the price.(42). Powney favours the Raja on the ground that these were highly necessary for the security of his country.(43). But this was quite against the principles laid down by the Council Proceedings of November 13, 1789. It laid down "of whatever importance the two places in question may appear to the defence of the territories of the Raja of Travancore", it cannot be supported considering the consequences resulting from a war."(44). The Council in its proceedings admitted that the documents before the Board were insufficient to decide with certainty between the two cases. Therefore, they proposed that Commissioners would be appointed

---

(39) Ibid, Raja to Holland, PP.2553-62.

(40) Ibid, Holland to Governor-General, P.2554.

(41) Ibid, Powney to Governor-General, PP.2751-59

(42) Ibid.

(43) Ibid.

(44) Ibid, Council Pro. of November 13, 1789, P.2585.

to bring the claim set up by both parties under mutual engagements to abide by the proof exhibited in the course of discussion which should be determined upon these principles - that if Ayyicottah and Cranganore belonged originally to Portuguese and were made over by them to the Dutch and if the Dutch held independent possession of them without any reserve of allegiance to the Raja of Cochin, who is tributary to Tipu, the transfer of them by the Dutch to the Raja of Travancore should be valid and just and possession shall be given to him. (45). It continues that if on the contrary the Dutch were dependent on the Raja of Cochin and had not the independent possession of Ayyicottah and Cranganore, they should be considered as belonging to the territories of his tributary and as such his sovereignty over them should be acknowledged and the possession would remain with him uninterrupted. (46). With all these, Tipu believed that the English would not overlook his claim nor would come to an open hostility on this issue.

Thus by the end of October 1789, Tipu reached Palghat and on December 4, Powney wrote to Cornwallis about the movement of Tipu through Palghat with the apprehension that Tellichery might be stormed, even though it is impossible to decide "what Tippoo's designs are" (47). He continues his letter to say that the Travancore Raja also amassed his troops of "a hundred thousand men" about 8000 of them "clothed and armoured like our sepoys." (48). On December 14, Tipu

---

(45) Ibid, P.2589.

(46) Ibid, P.2590.

(47) Ibid, December 1789, Powney to Governor-General, S.No. 96 A, Part II, P.2881.

(48) Ibid, P.2882.

arrived at about 25 miles distance from the Lines. (49). Next day he sent his envoy to Rama Varma, the ruler of Travancore with certain specific demands. (50). Downey, the Resident of Travancore reports about these demands of Tipu on the Raja of Travancore and the latter's reactions on these demands in a letter sent to Major Alexander Dow, the Chief of Tellichery on December 20, 1789. (51). He concludes that it would appear from his present operations that Tipu intends to support his demands by force and that his armies within 10 miles of the Lines and that he is there with an advanced part consisting of 4000 men with 10 guns within four miles of them "make us expect every hour to hear that they are attacked." (52). The Raja's reply to his demand for the expulsion of the rebel Chieftains of his country was also irksome. He sent word that no demand for their repatriation have ever been made by Tipu and he gave protection to the rulers of Chirakkal, Calicut and Kadattad only because they were his relations. (53). We have seen from the time of Haider Ali a number of complaints were launched against the protection given by the Raja to the rebels belonging to the Mysore territory. Therefore, what Rama Varma had written was a gross misrepresentation of real facts.

---

(49) Sec.Cons.No.10, dated January 27, 1790.

(50) Ibid, Nos. 1-4, January 27, 1790.

(51) P.R.C., Vol.III, No.52, P.49, Downey to Dow, December 20, 1790.

(52) Ibid, P.50.

Tipu demanded that the troops of the Raja stationed in the Cranganore Fort should be withdrawn; that the Malabar Rajas who were with him should be handed over; that the Raja's Lines erected on the Cochin territory should be demolished. The Raja replied that he could take a decision on these demands only after hearing from the English Government to whom these were referred to. (Ibid).

(53) My.Cons., January 1, 1790, Vol.133A.

When this provocation reply came to Tipu, he marched nearer and on December 24, encamped about four miles from the Lines.(54). If Tipu wanted to attack the Lines, his movement would not have been so slow and actions so lukewarm. Since he reached Palghat on December 4, 1789, it was easy for his intrepid dash to reach the lines within a day or two. But he lulled it simply because he did not want a war and "did not come prepared for the same." (55). He thought that since the English disapproved the actions of the Raja in strong terms, his appearance with an army would induce him to come to amicable terms. But his calculations fell short of his expectations. The Raja was quite aware that the military preparations and demonstrations were uninterruptedly carrying on, in camera, by the English, and he would finally get their support. Therefore, he did not mind at all what overtures Tipu showed and as Powney made it clear that the Raja rallied 'a hundred thousand of his soldiers' to meet any eventuality.

Meanwhile on the night of December 29, there occurred an encounter between the Mysorean troops, who were clearing jungles in pursuit of certain Malabar rebels, and the forces of the Raja of Travancore. It was actually an unprovoked assault on the Mysorean army. They retaliated with the result that the Travancore army ran away pell-mell and a considerable portion of the Lines fell into the hands of the Mysoreans who occupied it. (56). On December 29, 1789, Powney wrote from Parur, the vicinity of these developments to Major Alexander

---

(54) Sec.Cons., No.10, Dated January 27, 1790.

(55) Wilks: Historical Sketches etc., Vol.II, P.373.

(56) Pol.Pro., February 10, 1790, Tipu to Holland,  
January 1, Cons.No.9.

Dow, "Tippoo had this morning opened three battalions against the Raja's Lines. I am afraid they will soon be carried. We must do the best with our small detachment, but unsupported it cannot be expected, we can do much." (57).

Encouraged by the early success of the preceding day, it seems from the intelligence of Powney that Mysore troops were also prepared to occupy the Lines by an attack. But the Travancore troops retreated to the Lines and were followed closely by the Mysoreans until they reached some vantage point from where "they received reinforcements from the Raja, coming from the right and left, the enemy were hemmed in between two fires and were driven out with great slaughter." (58). This frontier skirmish was grossly exaggerated by our historians. Wilks says that out of 15000 of the Mysorean troops only 20 of them returned to tell this tragedy. (59). No doubt it is based on the report of the incident by the Raja. Though the Raja puts the number of the Mysorean army as 15,000, he did not give the number lost by the Mysoreans. We will see in the following discussions that the number given might in all possibility be a wrong figure, because to defeat the Raja's troops when an assault was made, only some "6000 dismounted horsemen" were employed by Tipu. (60). Therefore, if there were 15,000 men on the part of Mysoreans, it would have been well-nigh impossible to dislodge them.

Powney who was in the neighbourhood wrote in jubilation to Holland, "Tippoo has met with a repulse from the

---

(57) P.R.C., Vol.III, No.54, P.51, Powney to Major Dow.

(58) Fgn.(Sec.) Pol.Pro. February 10, 1790, No.5, January 4, Powney to Holland.

(59) Wilks: Vol.II, pp.357-58.

(60) Pol.Pro., May 14, 1790, Cons.No.11.



Raja's troops..... Near a thousand were left dead within the Lines..."(61). The Raja in his letter dated January 2, 1790, wrote to Hutchinson, "on the 29th December, the troops of Tipu Sultan consisting of horse and foot about 15,000, appeared in front of my fort. My people opposed them and a battle ensued, when some of them killed, others wounded and the remained fled. My people are now strongly entrenched."(62). From these letters of the Raja and Powney, it can safely be presumed that the loss of the Mysorean army was not so heavy as Wilks makes out in his statement.

Again our historians declare that Tipu was himself present in the fight and he was wounded and narrowly escaped from death. "He escaped only with much difficulty", Wilks writes, "and the lameness which occasionally continued until his death, was occasioned by the severe contusions he received on this occasion."(63). Wilks who invented the lameness of Tipu continues to say that his palanquin, his seals, his sword, his diamond rings and jewels fell as trophies in the hands of the enemy.(64). This is also one of the baseless stories relating to this incident. Powney, the first to report the matter observes: "A Brahmin of some consequence is among the prisoners, he says that Tipu was at the attack and had a horse shot under him.... Reports say that he has crossed the Chetwa River and is advancing along the sea-side with the intentions of attacking Cranganore and Ayyicottah."(65). If Tipu was wounded 'his advance along the sea-side and the intentions of attack' attached to it by Powney would be impossible. At the same time the letters written by the Raja of

---

(61) Ibid, February, 3, 1790, February 4, Cons.No.5, Powney to Holland.

(62) P.R.C., Vol.III, No.56, P.52.

(63) Wilks; Vol.II, P.146.

(64) Ibid, P.145.

(65) Pol.Pro. - February 3, 1790, Cons. No.5, January 4, Powney to Holland.

Travancore and Cochin, to the Governor of Madras (66) and the Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies, (67) respectively, do not make any mention of the presence of Tipu in the incident of December 29. Tipu in his letter to Holland made it in unequivocal terms that the incident happened without his knowledge and soon after he was aware of it ordered to return the prisoners of the Raja (68). This was corroborated by Holland when he wrote to Madras that "it was accidental without any specific orders from Tipu. (69). "I have this instance received the following intelligence from the southern frontier of the State" writes C.W. Malet to W. Meadows on March 24, 1790, "the news of his being wounded is not circulated in this part, but it is said Meer Kamaruddeen fell in the attack of Travancore Lines." (70). The concluding part of the information is also false because Qamaruddeen Khan survived even the Fourth Anglo-Mysore War. (71). Malet himself corrects his mistake in his letter to Amherst dated April 11, 1790, that a man of his just arrived from Tipu's camp before the Travancore Lines which he left the middle of February and that he assured him that he saw Tipu in the beginning of that month in perfect health and that he had not been wounded. But his cousin Qamaruddeen Khan received two deep wounds on his breast from which he was recovering fast. (72). After the capture of the Lines by Tipu the ceremonial demolition of the same is picturesquely described by Wilks in these words: "The whole army off duty was regularly paraded without arms and marched in divisions to the appointed station. The Sultan placed on

---

(66) Ibid, 1790, No.3.

(67) L. LXI A, No.7.

(68) Pol.Pro., February 10, 1790, Cons.No.21 9, January 1, 1790, Tipu to Holland.

(69) Ibid, April 2, 1790, Cons. No.1.

(70) P.R.C., Vol.III, No.81, P.89.

(71) History of Tipu Sultan, P.302.

(72) P.R.C., Vol.III, No. 88, P.100

an eminence set the example of striking the fire stroke with  
pick axe; the ceremony was repeated by the courtiers and  
Chiefs and followers of every description." (73). If Tipu  
was lame the historians would not have failed to comment on  
this comic scene of the performance of a lame-footed man with  
an axe-striking from an eminence at the wall. Evidently these  
are false stories. The only possibility to get credence to  
this story is that the Travancoreans might have considered, for  
no fault of theirs, at the sight of each well-dressed Mysore  
soldier as Tipu Sultan. (74).

As regards the trophies of war, the Travancore  
records mention only two stands of colours and one small  
bell. (75). It is unusual to Tipu to use a palanquin who was  
usually mounted and attached to great importance to horse-  
manship, "in which he was considered to excel. The conveyan-  
ces in a palanquin he derided and in a great degree prohi-  
bited even to the aged and infirm." (76). Therefore, a person  
who hated such a conveyance was carried in a palanquin to  
lead an attack can never be accepted. The Madras Government  
itself regarded the incident of December 29, & "a minor  
affair and not regular hostilities." (77). In this connection,  
let us take note that before the actual hostilities commenced  
on April 14, 1790, the Travancore force repeated the same  
provocative attack twice and both these occasions they were

---

(73) Wilks: Vol.II, P.154.

(74) Tipu Sultan, P.302.

(75) Mathilakom Records - Caruna, 1308, FF.154-56.

(76) Wilks: Vol.II, P.154.

(77) Ply.Desp. to Court of Directors, September 16, 1790,  
Vol.20, P.69.

beaten back.(78). Therefore, it can be rightly presumed that the first shot might have fired by the Travancore army.

The performance of the Raja's army on December 29, is highly extolled by historians. But Tipu knew it was an outcome of a foolhardy venture of a "small portion of his army"(79) availing the opportunity to occupy the Lines against the Raja's force of more than 'a hundred thousand men'. He was confident to overcome the Raja's force easily but waited for a just and reasonable settlement of his disputes with him. No other reason can be assigned for the inordinate delay in attacking the Lines after this incident of December 29, 1789. Hostile historians of Tipu Sultan write that he awaited for the reinforcement and was afraid of a second attack on the Lines due to the disastrous result of December 29. But Tipu calculated the strength of the Raja's force without error. Even after this "frontier incident"(80), he had no hesitation when he wrote to the Governor of Madras to convey these sentiments in these words: "It is not a great task to demolish the Lines"(81), but anxiously avoided open hostility to obtain a judicious compromise through the good offices of the Company.(81-b). This estimate of Tipu did not fall short of precision and judgement when he actually started an organised assault on April 14, 1790 with only 6000 of his men engaged in the attack.(82). Therefore, any impartial observer can very well come to a just conclusion that Tipu was for a peaceful

---

(78) Tipu Sultan, Op.Cit., 305.

(79) Fgn.Pol. Sec.Pro., S.No. 96A, PP.2584 to 2592.

(80) History of Tipu Sultan, Op.Cit., P.165.

(81) J.Mill: History of British India, Vol.III V, P.343.

(81-b) Fgn.Pol.Sec.Pro., February 10, 1790, Cons.No.9,  
Tipu to Holland, January 1.

(82) Pol.Pro., May 14, 1790, Cons. No.11.

settlement of his disputes with the Raja, and that actually he was betrayed by the friendly overtures shown to him by the English.

After the incident of December 29, 1789, nothing serious happened, except the Raja's force were driven back twice where they rallied forth from the Lines and attacked the Mysoreans encamped nearby as referred to above. These were on the 1st of March and 9th of April, 1790. Tipu, as we have seen, wanted to settle his disputes with the Raja amicably through negotiations. Therefore, he waited for more than three months without attempting to capture the place. Immediately after the incident of December 29, 1789, if Tipu made an organised assault on the Lines, he could have easily captured it. If this were to happen the Company would not have got time to revert their decisions of their Council Proceedings of November 13, 1789 A.D. (83). But Tipu's desire to come to a peaceful settlement with the Raja through the good offices of Bolland and Powney<sup>(84)</sup> made the delay that gave ample time to the English to twist their own decisions of the Council Proceedings of November 13. Tipu wrote to Powney to visit his camp along with some confidential persons for an amicable settlement of the disputes with the Raja. (85).

Failed in his attempts to obtain a reasonable settlement, Tipu determined to make an attack. "From the morning of April 12, 1790, the Mysoreans began a regular cannonade which within a few days made a practical breach of at least three quarters of a mile." (86). In the early hours of April 15, 1790, Tipu attacked the Lines and with little or no

---

(83) Fgn.Pol.Sec.Pro., No. 96A, pp.2584-92.

(84) Pol.Cons.No.9, dated February 10, 1790.

(85) Ibid, No.7, February 17, 1790.

(86) History of Tipu Sultan, On.Cit., p.166.

resistance occurred it. Powney reported the matter on the same day from Ayicottah "the enemy all last night kept up a heavy cannonade and this morning at day break stormed. It is said that 6000 of Tipu's dismounted horsemen made the assault .... in short the army was in possession of the Lines." (87). The Raja of Travancore conveyed this in his letter on April 20, 1790, in these words: "....on the 15th in the morning they entered the Lines, made a desperate attack, killed and wounded 4000 of my people and as they are in great force, my Lines surrendered to the Sultan. It is my bad fortune that no opportunity presented to the Company's troops to come to my assistance." (88). This was reported by Bartely from Cochin on May 10, 1790. He says that "Tipu met with no resistance." (89). The consternation of the Raja's people was so great that all attempts to rally them proved abortive. Colonel Bartely in another letter to Amherst written from Ayyicottah on May 1, 1790 observes the panic prevailing on Tipu taking the Travancore Lines. "....that the Raja's had precipitatedly in the greatest disorder leaving everything in the possession of Tipu, that the two Madras battalions quitted Paroor... The whole Kingdom was panic-struck, not five thousand of the Raja's army were together, inhabitants of every description had fled to the southward far beyond Cochin." (90). The flight was universal. This general panic was put by Powney when he wrote, "never was there such a shameful flight." (91).

---

(87) Pol.Pro.May 14, 1790, Cons.No.11.

(88) P.R.C., Vol.III, No. 93 A, P.113, Raja to the Resident of Travancore.

(89) Ibid, No. 106 A, P.129.

(90) Ibid, No. 98, P.117.

(91) Fgn.Pol.Sec.Pro., May 14, 1790, Cons.No.8.

The Line was completely demolished and the whole Travancore territory lay open before Tipu.(92). He then marched towards Cranganore Fort which was occupied by him on May 7, 1790 (93) when Colonel Bartely withdrew his garrison from the Fort.(94). One after another Ayyicottah, Parur and other ports fell into the hands of Mysoreans. It was only a matter of time for him to conquer the whole of Travancore territory, but for the intelligence he received about the movement of the English army to his own Kingdom, Tipu withdrew from Alwaye to be in defence of his Kingdom.(95).

Cornwallis declared war under the pretext of Tipu's attack on the 'Company's Ally and friend'(96). If the political situation of the country was not suitable for them to carry out their evil designs over their enemy, the Raja might have been compelled by them not to deviate the path of wisdom and justice. But the trends of time was such that in the words of Cornwallis "at present we have every prospect of aid from the country powers, whilst he can expect no assistance from France." (97). Explaining the point further to C.W.Malet, Cornwallis wrote in another letter that he depended much on the support of the Marattas and Nizam on this occasion and hoped that they would also seize the opportunity to reduce the power of "a prince whose ambition knows no bounds," and that there are no reasons to believe that "Tipu has on this occasion acted in concert with the French

---

(92) Pol.Cons.No.11, dated May 14, 1790.

(93) Ibid, No.3, May 26, 1790.

(94) Ibid, No.10, June 2, 1790.

(95) Ibid, No.8, dated May 14, 1790.

(96) Eng.Pol.Sec.Proceedings No. 96 A, pp.2765-2766.

(97) Ibid, April 2, 1790, Consultations No.1.

Government"(98), considering the convulsed state of affairs of that nation in Europe. All English Generals in India construed the time most favourable to their aggressive designs. C.W. Malet in his letter of February 5, 1790, written to Cornwallis puts this general feeling in these words: "...the vigour of British Government now in India is equal to the prosecution of our just resentment against Tipu to his extirpation."(99). John Kennaway writing to Campbell endorsed the same opinion. He felt that the time was most favourable that "affords to the execution of our design."(100). Thus the cause of Raja of Travancore was made a pawn to fructify the aggressive motives of the English.

The relation of Mysore with Travancore indicates how the native powers who cannot stand in their own legs, were made use of for the false pretensions of the English to get rid of their enemies in India and how these petty powers were treated after the successful termination of their evil designs. All rulers of India during this period sought help from foreign powers either to carry out their aggressive designs against their neighbours or to defend their Kingdoms from them. All the Rajas of Kerala are not an exception to this general rule. But it is an irony of fate that all of them found themselves entangled in the meshes of foreign dominance. The Raja of Travancore also became a subsidiary ally after the Third Anglo-Mysore War like other Malabar Rajas before him.(101).

---

(98) P.R.C., Vol.III, No.72, February 20, 1790, pp.77-78.

(99) Ibid, Vol.III, No.63, P.65.

(100) IGL.Pol.Sec.Proc., S.No.92, pp.3768-3769.

(101) T.K. Velu Pillai: Travancore State Manual, Vol.II,P.433.



The Third Anglo-Mysore War.

In view of turning the fortune of political supremacy in India to British favour, they began systematic manoeuvring to cripple if not to crush the growing popularity and power of Tipu Sultan. Therefore, from the very beginning, they began to violate the provisions of the Treaty of Mangalore. The reason for the wanton violations of this solemn treaty by the English was that "it was the ruler of Mysore alone who had shown himself at all equal to the English on the field of battle." (1). The English thought that they were forced to conclude a disadvantageous treaty with Tipu Sultan. "This is the first time a country enemy has gained an advantage over us." (2). It was in fact "not considered as a treaty but as a truce" by the English (3).

In violation of the Fourth Article of the Treaty (4), that stipulated that Cannanore should be evacuated by the English, it was adhered to only after strong complaints from Tipu. The Chief of Tallicherry had a letter from Tipu expressing his discomfiture about the Cannanore fort had been looted of everything and "the said fort made empty as a jungle and then your troops went away..." (5). The Nair rebels of Tipu's dominion were given protection by the Tellicherry Factors and they used them as instruments for inciting rebellions in his territory. Tipu accused the English for violation of the treaty in his letter dated April 23, 1789 addressed to the

---

(1) G. B. Melleson: Seringapatam, the Capital of Tipu, P.146.

(2) Letter from Josias Du Pre to Robert Orme, Indian Record Series, Vol.II, P.599.

(3) P. V. Sundry Book, Vol., 61, PP.1462-64.

(4) Logan: Treaties etc., 1, XC.

(5) P. V. Cons., May 29, 1784, Vol.99 B, P.2050.

Chief of Tellicherry in strong terms. He wrote that the English had broken the Treaty in the following instances:

"First, you have taken Dharmapatanam, a place belonging to the Sircar. Secondly the Raja of Cotiote and of Chericks with their families fled to Tellicherry with 20 lakhs of rupees, you embarked all these on board a ship and sent them to Ram Raja's country" (6). He continues that nearly 20,000 Nairs were given protection by the Factors and that with the help of English, they got out at night to make reprisals in the country. (7). In another letter, Tipu required the Chief to send back all rebels who took protection under them and also to give back Dharmapatanam, to Ravi Varma, the Raja of Chirackal, which Tipu reiterated that the English had taken by force from him. (8). Prince of Chirackal also made it known to the Factors by his letter dated May 28, 1789, his determination to send his people to take possession of Dharmapatanam to which he says that he had received orders from Tipu to take possession of all the territories in which formerly were under his Government. (9). These preparations were reported by the Factors on June 26, with a request to send reinforcements to defend the place. (10). When the answers given to Tipu by the Chief of Tellicherry in an arrogant and impolite manner, Tipu expressed his resentment in strong words, requiring him "not write to me on anything business from this time forward." (11).

---

(6) P.R.C., Vol.III, No.37 A, P.36.

(7) Ibid, P.37.

(8) Fgn.Sec.) Dept.Pro., 1-22, September, 1789, S.No.92, PP.3803-4.

(9) Ibid - Prince of Chirackal to the Chief of Tellicherry, May 28, 1789, P.3802.

(10) Ibid - From the Factors, June 26, 1789, P.3801.

(11) P.R.C., Vol.III, No. 37 A, P.37.

Tipu retaliated the English by imposing a total ban on export which affected them grievously in their business in Malabar. In the Council Proceedings of August 26, 1789, this was recorded thus, "Tipu seems determined to preserve the prohibiting the exportation of the Coast productions... the Company can derive little or no benefit from the trade at Tellicherry...."(12). But they hoped at the same time that if through some fortuitous events the Malabar Rajahs should shake off the yoke of Tipu and circumstances should justify "our forming alliance with them", one might venture to predict that Tellicherry would become a possession highly valuable to "our employers in point of commerce and of great political weight."(13). Therefore, it has become imperative for their bare existence in Malabar to foment rebellions and create disorder to which they had exerted their best.

To facilitate these schemes they found in the Raja of Travancore "a faithful ally and a best friend in India"(14). The rebels of Malabar reached the territory of Travancore through Tellicherry. All facilities were provided by the Factors to see them reach safely at Trivandrum. Though the Raja of Travancore was one of the parties of the Treaty of Mangalore, it did not prevent him to give protection to the fugitive princes and nobles of Malabar. Tipu wrote to the Raja and the Governor of Madras requiring the former to send back the rebels (15), and the latter to use his good offices with the Raja not to give asylum to those criminals who had been

---

(12) Sec.Pro., 25th Sept., 1789, S.No. 96; August 26, P.1889.

(13) Ibid: PP. 1855-56.

(14) T.K. Velu Pillai: Travancore State Manual, Vol.II, P.354.

(15) Sec.Pro., December 1789, S.No. 96 A, Tipu to Holland, Oct.30, 1789, P.2901.

guilty of the country being "laid waist and destroyed" (16). These protests were totally ignored and no sanctity was attached to the provisions of the Treaty.

Hardly an year had elapsed since Cornwallis had assumed the office of Governor-General, when the prospect of a war in Europe darkened the political horizon of India also. The English expected that Tipu would make an attack on Carnatic. (17). His embassies to France (18) and Constantinople (19), the arrival of French troops to his service (20), and his ceaseless activities to improve his militia (21), made them believe that Tipu would violate the Treaty of Mangalore. But it was soon confirmed "that he was not to make any movements of a hostile nature....I shall be convinced that he is no way disposed to quarrel with us" (22). On August 28, 1788, Campbell wrote to Captain Kenneway endorsing the same opinion that "Tippoo is not disposed to quarrel with us this time" (23). But negotiations to ally with the Marattas and the Nizam were restlessly carried out successfully. The success of the English diplomacy lay in the fact that Cornwallis could create an impression in the minds of the Nizam and the Marattas that the alliance with the Company would be always for their own good.

---

(16) Ibid: Nov., 11, 1789, Tipu to Holland, P. 2977-3070.

(17) P.R.C. No. 11, Cornwallis to Malet, August 29, 1787, P.9.

(18) Ibid, No. 3, P.4, Archibald Campbell to Malet June 8, 1787.

(19) Ibid, No. 12, P.10.

(20) Ibid, No. 10, PP. 8-9.

(21) Ibid, No. 21, P.9, Oct. 20, 1787 - R.H. Boddain to Malet.

(22) See Sec. and Pol. Pro. 1-22 Sept., 1788, S.No. 92, August 11, 1788, Malet to Bay.

(22) Ibid, 1-22 Sept., S.No. 92, P.3461.

(23) Ibid, P.3829.

Cornwallis did not stop with the alliance of the Nizam and Marattas but continued his effort to get the support of all the affected nobles and princes of Malabar area. A paper of protection was published inviting the rebels to come under the Company's shelter and support them in their attempt to oust Tipu from Malabar Coast. It reads, "In the name of the Honourable English East India Company, I, Robert Taylor, Chief for transacting all affairs of the English nation at Tellicherry who hereby assure you (here enter the Raja's name and titles) that provides you will enter heartily into the war against Tipu Sultan, and act vigorously against him, the English East India Company will assist and protect you and do everything in their power to render you independent of Tipu Sultan...I do hereby further assure you, that in any future treaty that may take place between the Company and Tipu Sultan you shall be included and considered as an ally of the Honourable Company. In witness whereof I have here-unto set my hand and the Honourable Company's seal and you have affixed your seal at Tellicherry, this 4th day of May, 1790" (24). This was proclaimed to ensure the rebels security and instil courage in them to come out of their hiding places because Taylor himself complains in the same letter that some extra-ordinary exertion must be made to drive the enemy from the frontiers, for they were convinced that while Tipu's post continued in force of all round them, even close to their advanced guards, "not a man of Malabar would have come over to us." (25). Subsequently Taylor could report to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors "that the Chirackal, Cartinddu, and Cotiote Rajas are with us here and the Coorge Raja is well-inclined towards us but the Beobi of Cannanore, has not declared herself." (26).

---

(24) D.R.C., No.103, P.125, also see Logan: Treaties etc., I, CLVIII. - Egn. (Misc.) S.No.56; Part I, Voucher No. 10, PP.455-56.

(25) Ibid, P.123.

(26) Ibid, No.101, P.122. also see Logan: Treaties etc., ~~xxxxxx~~ I, XCV.

Within a few days, Taylor wrote to Amherstcrosby the operation of Chirackal and Cotiote Rajas who had signed a treaty of friendship with the Company and also the Coorge Raja's eagerness for the friendship with the English. (27). Similarly, a treaty of friendship was entered into between the Raja of Cochin and the English, through the good offices of Downey, Resident of Travancore. (28). On 8th August, 1790, the Beebi of Cannanore was compelled to sign a treaty with them. (29). Thus all possible preparations were taken by the English to single out Tipu Sultan.

This was at a time when, all writers uphold that he was not prepared for a war with the English. (30). The dread of fear the English had against the power of Tipu can easily be visible from these war preparations and military alliances. All the efforts of Tipu to counteract the machinations of Cornwallis, through his vakils at Poona and Hyderabad, proved abortive. Likewise, his effort to secure the help of the French bore no fruit, whereas Cornwallis could successfully induce Tipu's tributaries like Beebi of Cannanore and Rama Varma of Cochin to throw off the allegiance with Tipu. Thus unlike the other Anglo-Mysore Wars, Tipu this time had to fight single-handed against the combined force of the English who allied with all the native forces of the country.

As we have seen that Tipu after reducing the Travancore lines and advancing as far South of Alwaye, returned hastily when he heard the English had made use of this attack

---

(27) Ibid, No. 109, P.137, dated May 17, 1790.

(28) C.R.E., No. 167, L.LXII, S. I. See Logan: Treaties etc., 1, XCIX.

(29) Logan: Treaties etc., 1, XCVI.

(30) Sec.Pro., June 16, 1788, Cons. No.24.

Wilks: Historical Sketches etc., Vol.IX, P.373.

Mohibul Hasan Khan: Tipu Sultan, P.165.

to declare war upon him. The English who were manoeuvring to isolate Tipu and thus encircle him to curb his power got a *causesbelli* to pounce upon him. Cornwallis communicated his directions to Malet and Kennaway on January 27, 1790, in these words "you will probably know before this letter can reach you that Tipu has committed actual hostilities against our ally, the Raja of Travancore, which being considered by this Government, as equal to a declaration of war against the Company, the most vigorous measures will be taken immediately." (31). The date of this letter is particularly important to show that during this time Tipu did not make any assault on the Lines. The only instance of hostility occurred was according to the Madras Government itself, "not a serious act of hostility but only a frontier incident", on December 29, 1789. It was admitted by the Officers of the Company that it so happened by the provocation of Travancoreans and without the least knowledge of Tipu.(32). Therefore, it clearly manifests the malicious intention of the English to make use of the most favourable opportunity that had prevailed for them to crush the growing power of their formidable enemy. H.H. Dodwell writing in the Cambridge History of India puts the English version of the story thus: "However with the usual English good fortune, Tipu selected as the time for his provocative attack upon Travancore, the time when the French were much too engrossed by their domestic affairs to spare a thought to India so that he was left to meet Cornwallis' attack alone".(33).

The war started with all vigour and enthusiasm on the part of English as they were well aware that they could at last

---

(31) P.R.C. No.60, Pt.54-6 dated January 27, 1790, Cornwallis to Malet.

(32) Pol.Sec.Pro., February 10, 1790.

(33) H.H. Dodwell: Cambridge History of India, Vol.V, P.326.

trap the Tiger of Mysore. In the first phase of the war itself, the whole of Malabar was captured by the English even though Tipu had won some brilliant victories over his enemy in the Carnatic and in his own kingdom. Colonel Stuart who was ordered to move to Malabar appeared before Palghat Fort, the stronghold of the Mysoreans, on 21st Sept., 1790 (34). In less than two hours the fort was silenced and before night a practicable breach was effected. But all these labours were rendered unnecessary by the impression produced on the garrison, who before day-light called out that they desired to capitulate. (35). In fact, "the garrison offered only feeble resistance" as Mohibbul Hasan Khan, puts it. (36). Cornwallis reviewing the English victory at Malabar wrote to Malet "The complete success of General Medows and the accession of the Beebi of Cannanore to our alliance gave us possession of all the Southern parts of the Malabar Coast." (37).

We have seen that Colonel Hartely was sent for the assistance of the Raja of Travencore, but could not render any help owing to the superior power of Tipu withdrew to the fort of Cranganore without offering any resistance. (38). No sooner Tipu retraced his steps to Mysore than Hartely moved up the Coast from Ayycottah capturing Chetwai and Chavakkad, proceeded to Ponnani. Colonel Hartely did not meet any opposition in these operations and by October 8, he reached Palghat which was already occupied by Colonel Stuart. Making

---

(34) Wilks: Historical Sketches etc., Vol.II, P.163.

Mohibbul Hasan Khan: History of Tipu Sultan, P.188.

(35) Wilks: Vol.II, P.164.

(36) Mohibbul Hasan Khan: History of Tipu Sultan, P.188.

(37) P.R.C., No.153, P.207, dated Sept., 27, 1790.

(38) Pol.Pro.June 2, 1790, Powney to Madras, May 7, Cons.No.10.



arrangements for a convenient junction with the force of Major Dow of Tellicherry Factory at Ponnani. Colonel Bartely set his force in motion from Palghat towards the West about the middle of November (39). After reducing unimportant posts, Bartely reached Ponnani, on the first week of December where he met with a fierce opposition from the Mysore force under Kartab Khan and Husain Ali Khan. On December 10, 1790, Bartely won a brilliant victory over the Mysoreans and inflicted heavy casualties upon them. The war is described by Major Diron, who was deputy Adjutant-General of the army thus: "He (Bartely) encountered two of Tipu's commanders, Kartab Khan and Husain Ali Khan, at the head of 5000 Tipu's men and 4000 Mapillas, on the plains of Ter-vandengurry (40), on the morning of the 10th instant." (41). After a smart action, the Colonel routed Kartab Khan with the right wing of the enemy and put them to a total flight. The retreat of Husain Ali being cut off by the Highland or 75th regiment, he, with the remaining troops was obliged to fly towards the fort of Tirurangady but the 7th battalion coming up with him before he could effectually enter the fort put 400 of his men to the sword in the covert way. (42). Being then surrounded on all sides by the English, Husain Ali loudly called out for quarter, which being granted, he surrendered himself with two sardars and 500 men, prisoners of war. (43). "The loss on our side during this action is very trifling...The loss on the side of the enemy, independent

---

(39) Logan: Malabar Manual, Vol.I, P.460.

(40) The place is evidently Tirurangady, some miles South of Calicut.

(41) Major Diron: A narrative of the campaign in India which terminated the war with Tipoo Sultan in 1792, P.263.

(42) Ibid, P.263.

(43) Ibid, P.264.

of the captured, is estimated at about 1000 killed and wounded." (44). Major Dixon continues his narration as follows: "Colonel Bartely finding that Martab Khan had retreated to Ferokia or New Calicut, a place lately strengthened and considerably improved by Tipu, pursued him thither, without a moment's loss of time." (45). On the night previous to the arrival of the detachment, Martab Khan again fled from them and carried with him from thence, on elephants, all the treasure of the place towards the Thamerassery pass. (46). The remainder of his garrison, consisting of 1500 men, laid down their arms, on the Colonel's appearance, who consequently took possession of the fort, guns etc. without further opposition. Bypore also surrendered to him immediately, with a considerable number of vessels and boats laying in the river. (47). On this rejoicing news from Malabar C.W. Malet communicated to Cornwallis ".....I have received by a private letter from Bombay, the very pleasing and important intelligence of Colonel Bartely's having gained a complete victory over Tipu's army in the Coast of Malabar commanded by Husain Ali Khan and reduced the fort of Tricalore and Furruckabad..." (48). The Governor-General on his part communicated this news of the victory gained by the Company's forces in Malabar with a little bit of exaggeration probably to convince the Nizam that "in view of the relations of amity and friendship, existing between the allies, it has been possible to defeat the enemy." (49). The whole of South Malabar thus completely had come under the sway of the English.

§§§

---

(44) Ibid.

(45) Fgn. (Misc.) S.No. 55, Para 77, P. ...

(46) Dixon: P.264.

(47) Ibid, P.264.

(48) P.R.C. No. 193, P.258, December 31, 1790.

(49) Diplomatic Cor. between Mir Nizam Ali Khan and the East India Company (1760-1798). A.R.No. 7938, January 22, 1791, P.134-5, Cornwallis to Nizam.

The English attempts to reduce Cannanore (50) and deprive the Mysore forces forming a junction with the Boebi's army failed as she preferred to be faithful to Tipu than to the Company. At last under pressure she agreed to sign a treaty (51), as adverted above, with the English on August 8, 1790, when she knew that Mysore power was fading out from Malabar. But when the troops of Tipu arrived she admitted them into the Cannanore fort which was against the treaty provisions newly entered into. (52). Accordingly, General Amherstcromby who arrived from Bombay with a fresh force invested the place on December 13, 1790. The garrison had put up a gallant defence but finding their position weaker and weaker made an unconditional surrender on December 17, 1790 (53). All military and naval stores, vessels, grains etc. were confiscated. "The Boebi's husband, who it seems had headed the opposition to the English," writes W. Logan, "died during the early part of the siege and her Minister and heir apparent were therefore sent as hostages to the English camp." (54). Nearly 5000 of the Mysorean troops laid down their arms and were taken as prisoners by the English. Thus "Cannanore, the first place in India to welcome Europeans to Indian shores, was the last of the important places in Malabar to pass into the conquering hands of the British." (55).

Thus by the end of 1790, the Mysore occupation of Malabar was practically replaced by the East India Company. 'The freedom struggle' of the Nairs also thus ended by being enslaved by a foreign power in whose protection they had come

---

(50) P.R.C. No.130, P.167, Taylor to Amherstcromby, June 26, 1790.

(51) Logan: Treaties etc., 1, XCVI.

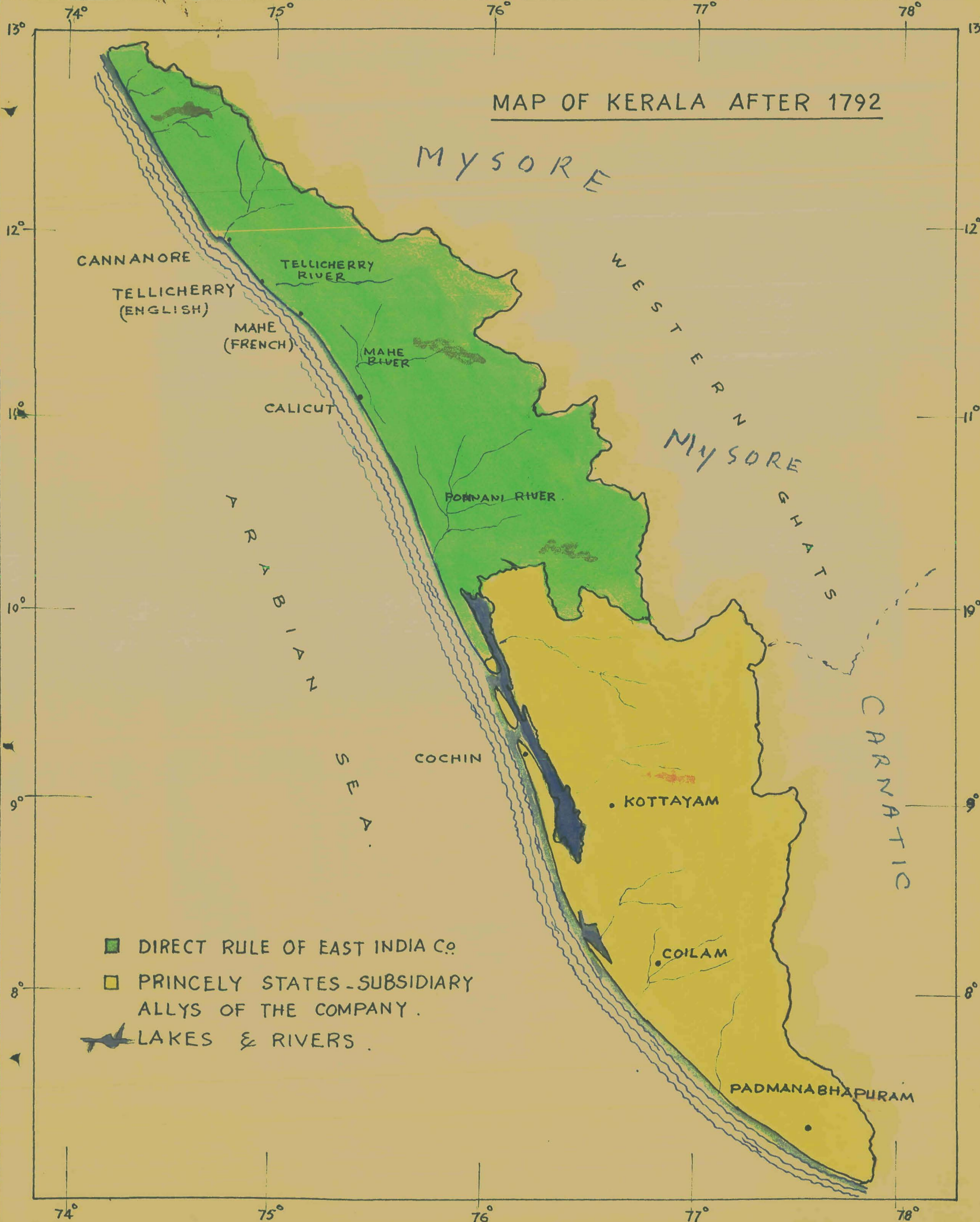
(52) Pol.Pro., December 24, 1790, Cons., Nos.22, 23.

(53) Logan: Treaties etc., 1, CLIX; Pgn. (Misc.) 6, No.55, P.83.

(54) Logan: Malabar Manual, Vol.I, P.471.

(55) Ibid, P.471.

MAP OF KERALA AFTER 1792



- DIRECT RULE OF EAST INDIA CO.
- PRINCELY STATES - SUBSIDIARY ALLYS OF THE COMPANY.
- LAKES & RIVERS.

under by treaties and in whom they found their salvation! The complete route of the Mysorean forces paved the way for the British supremacy in the Western Coast. It gave the realisation of a cherished craze of the Company to master her ports, (56) and establish the trade monopoly on the most lucrative business in spices.

The Treaty of Seringapatam  
and the cession of Malabar to  
the English.

Tipu began his peace overtures jointly (1) and severally (2) with the allied powers from the very beginning of the war. In fact, he tried to avert the war by all possible means.(3). But as circumstances showed a highly favourable prospect of war to the English, Cornwallis declined to receive a representative from Tipu.(4). But Tipu continued his effort time and again when he knew that the tide of war was turning against him.(5). Realising his position not hopeful when from all sides Seringapatam was invested by the Allies, Tipu decided to release the English prisoners captured on the fall of Coimbatore, as was the condition precedent for any negotiation of peace.(5-a). One of Tipu's confidants Mohamed Ali also accompanied them with a special message.(6). On the release of these prisoners, Cornwallis agreed to receive Tipu's envoy at an appointed place through his letter dated February 11, 1792.(7).

---

(56) P.R.C., No.130, P.168, Taylor to Amherstcromby.

(1) Mly.Cons., June 17, 1791, Vol. 149 B, PP.3032-33,  
Cornwallis to Tipu, May 19.

(2) P.R.C. No. 252, P.389, April 15, 1791, E.A.I. No.16,  
Tipu to Nizam.

Ibid No. 379, Tipu to Bakshi Begum.

(3) Ibid, Tipu to Cornwallis, March 3, 1791.

(4) P.R.C., Vol.III, No.126, June 16, 1790, Cornwallis  
to Malet, P.162.

(5) Mly.Cons., January 24, 1792, Tipu to Cornwallis, Jan.,7,  
Vol.158 B, PP.429-30.

(5-a)

(6) O.R., No.88, Tipu to Cornwallis.

(7) P.R.C., No. 436, P.537, Cornwallis to Tipu, Feb.,11, 1792.

On receipt of this letter, Tipu sent Gulan Ali Khan and Ali Raza Khan on February 13, 1792 to the camp prepared for this purpose. John Kennaway represented the Company, Mir Alam, the Nizam, Govind Ram Kishen and Bachaji Mahendale represented the Peshwa. John Kennaway prepared a long report of the negotiations between the parties and subsequent treaty provisions agreed upon in a big volume comprising 189 folio pages. (8). After a long and protracted negotiations, Tipu signed the preliminaries on February 23, and on the morning of the 24th, hostilities ceased. (9). The preliminary treaty consisted of the following articles:-

Article I. One half of the dominion which were in the possession of Tipu Sultan at the commencement of the present war, shall be ceded to the allies, adjacent to their respective boundaries and agreeably to their selection.

Article II. Three crores and thirty lakhs of sicca rupees shall be paid to the allies agreeably to the following particulars: viz., (i) one crore and sixty five lakhs of sicca rupees shall be paid immediately and in pagodas or gold Mohours or rupees of full weight and standard or in gold or silver bullion. (ii) The remainder one crore and sixty five lakhs at three instalments not exceeding four months each in the three coins above-mentioned.

Article III. All subjects of the four several powers who may have been prisoners from the time of late Haider Ali Khan to the present period shall fairly and unequivocally released.

Article IV. Until the due performance of the three articles above-mentioned two of the three eldest sons of Tipu

---

(8) Fgn.Misc., Vol.57, 1792.

(9) Mohibbul Hasan Khan, Op.Cit., P.260.



shall be given as hostages, on the arrival of whom, a cessation of hostilities shall take place.

Article V. When an agreement containing the articles above written shall arrive bearing the sealed signature of Tipu Sultan, counter agreements shall be sent from the three powers and after the cessation of the hostilities, such a definite treaty of perpetual friendship as shall be settled by the several parties shall be adjusted and entered into. (10).

But the finalisation of the treaty provisions presented a number of difficulties. The English wanted an arbitrary valuation and division of Tipu's kingdom. They ignored the definite provision of the preliminary treaty, that the territories ceded to the allies might be "adjacent to their respective boundaries. (11). The English demanded the Coorg country which had no geographical contiguity or territorial continuity with that of allies, but on the contrary the 'gateway of Seringapatam'. (12). Tipu was very much perturbed to see the draft drawn that included Coorg, (13) on the ground that English had entered into an agreement with the Raja of Coorg to which Tipu was neither responsible nor obligatory to him. Further, according to the list given by the officers of the Sultan, Coorg country was included as 'the ancient possession of the Ahmedy Sircar.' (14). Tipu's vakeels were given assurance that his ancient possessions would not be included for partition between the allies. But all the assurances and treaty provisions were blown to winds when the English insisted on the inclusion of Coorg. It was a gross infringement of the preliminary treaty.

- 
- (10) Fgn. (Misc.) Vol. 54, 1792, John Kennaway.  
Kirk Patric - Select letters of Tipu Sultan,  
Appendix A(1), P. 77.  
Logan: Treaties etc., II, P. 1.  
(11) Mly. Sundries, Vol. 106, P. 35.  
(12) Miles: Op. Cit., P. 321.  
(13) Wilks: Historical Sketches etc., II, P. 553.  
(14) Fgn. Misc. Vol., 54, 1792.

The question of Coorg brought the finalisation of the treaty to a stand-still. No sane argument or logic was acceptable to the ostentatious English. Therefore, the talks broke down. Cornwallis subsequently gave orders to resume the siege of Seringapatam. Parasuram Bhao who had arrived on February 24, was ordered to cross the river and be in readiness to invest the south side of the Fort. (15). Meanwhile the condition of the allied armies was fast deteriorating. All observers write that if Tipu resumed hostilities and held out for a few months he could have saved his money and his kingdom. (16). Tipu was also in a position to assess the real condition of his enemies through his efficient system of espionage. "That in spite of this," writes Mohibbul Hasan Khan, "he gave up the idea of resuming hostilities was because he felt alarmed for the safety of his sons who were with the English as hostages and whom Cornwallis refused to send back to the Fort." (17). In fact the detention of these princes was a clear violation of the guarantee given by Cornwallis in his letter to Tipu dated May 19, 1791 (18). Therefore, on March 18, 1792, he sent the treaty duly signed back to the allied camp. (19) and "on 22nd Cornwallis with the representatives of Nizam and Marattas went to the tent of the princes and delivered to them the ratified counterparts of the definite treaty." (20). By the end of March the allied armies retraced their steps to their respective countries.

There are difference of opinion among the scholars about the allies agreeing for ending the war after the

---

(15) Mohibbul Hasan Khan: Op.Cit., P.264.

(16) For details see, History of Tipu Sultan, by Mohibbul Hassan Khan, pp. 252-274.

(17) Ibid, P.268.

(18) Fly.Cons., January 17, 1791, Cornwallis to Tipu, May 19, Vol.149 B, pp.3027-31.

(19) Logan: Treaties etc., i, II.

(20) A Dirom: Op.Cit., pp.246-7.



breakdown of "definite treaty". "But the progress of the English arms after Cornwallis took charge of the campaign greatly alarmed the Marattas", observes Mohibbul Hasan Khan, "who wanted Tipu's power to be weakened and not to be destroyed." (21). The Poona Residency Correspondence numbering 344 and 385 substantiate the statement above. "The general and the quick reduction of the strongest hill forts", writes Mirod Bhushan Ray, "awakened in the Poona Durbar an apprehension of the ascendancy of the English and instead of employing Shau's arms in forwarding the success of the English, his energies were now directed to extending the sphere of Maratta conquest. The more Malet began to press Shau's advance to Nagry, the more did he recede towards the west" (22). In spite of the above contentions it is doubtful whether the Marattas and the Nizam entertained such political acumen to create a balance of power. Every one was interested in the enhancement of his authority at the expense of the extirpation of another. In the process of negotiation it was Marattas and Nizam who pinched bitterly on Tipu by exorbitant demands. The demand of 15 crores as war indemnity and the whole of Tipu's territory except that much, which would yield one crore of revenue came from Mushir-ul-Mulk, though it was rejected by Cornwallis. (23). The 'Durbar charges' required by Haripant from Tipu's vakeels were sixty lakhs of rupees which was finally reduced to its half by the intervention of the English (24). Even after the treaty was signed, Parasuram Shau made devastation of Tipu's territory against which Tipu remonstrated in these words: "On the proclamation of peace many of the ryots and others who had fled were encouraged to return to their respective villages, but some horse belonging

---

(21) Mohibbul Hasan Khan: Op.Cit., P.255.

(22) Mirod Bhushan Ray: Introduction to Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol.III.

(23) Mly.Sundries, Vol., 106, P.84.

(24) Ibid, P.9.

to Parasuram Bhau have lately plundered and carried off many of these people, besides 63 camels and 3000 gun bullocks belonging to the Sircar"(25). Tipu wrote again, "today the cavary outposts of Sircar have represented that a thousand horse and some infantry belonging to Parasuram Bhau plundered and beat the ryots.....I sent you this note to settle the business in some fitting manner is necessary.... Parasuram Bhau's Cavalry are plundering and destroying the whole country. They did the same formerly after peace was established..."(26). Tipu's vakeels wrote to Kennaway on the receipt of this information (27), to which he agreed to advise Bhau to stop his atrocities.(28). Accordingly Kennaway wrote to Suchaji Pundit requiring him to persuade Bhau to withdraw his army (29), to which he received a reply of assurance to comply with his request.(30). Bhau also wrote to Haripent justifying his conduct.(31). Major Dirom says that Tipu requested Cornwallis that he would consider it as a favour if he would be allowed to go out and bring him to reason.(32) He continues that Parasuram Bhau was prepared to meet the challenge posed by Tipu.(33). This shows that he was not pleased with the cessation of hostilities. All these activities and a number of absurd demands made by them in the course of the peace talks that were rejected by Kennaway but were recorded in his voluminous report manifest that the Marattas wanted more territories and more money even at the extirpation of Tipu's authority.

On the other hand, the English had their plans of war and peace prior to the actual engagement. They had arrived at

---

(25) Fgn.Misc.No. 54, P.335, Tipu to Ghulam Ali Khan and Ali Raza, March 18, 1792.

(26) Ibid, Appendix No.46.

(27) Ibid, Appendix No. 58.

(28) Ibid, Appendix No.59

(29) Ibid, Appendix No.60.

(30) Ibid, Appendix No. 61.

(31) Ibid, Appendix No.62.

(32) Dirom: Op.Cit., P.246.

(33) Ibid, P.247.

a definite programme how to begin and where to end. As early as February 5, 1790, Malet wrote to Cornwallis "were it possible to conduct a war with Tipu to such a conclusion as we might dictate, it is probable that a more humiliating to him and a more honourable to us would not be wished than drive him from the sea-coast of Malabar, to reinstate the Nair princes in their ancient freedoms and tenures to secure such a possession on the Coast as should be equal to the purpose of our commerce, and to the supply of our ~~diff~~ deficiencies of the Bombay revenue, to procure such of the forts, between the Carnatic Belghaut and Payenghaut as should be judged requisite for our security on the frontiers and lay him under engagements to hold the remainder of his dominions in perpetual friendship and alliance with the Company, by which means a solid barrier would be opposed to the views of the Marattas, so long as the firmness and authority of our power, the only permanent basis of all political arrangements supported our influence over his councils" (34). The English desired ardently no doubt to reduce the hostile power of Tipu Sultan but not to extinguish his authority, because they considered him a force to keep the growing power of Marattas and the Nizam in check. They even liked him to be friendly with the Company provided he eschewed British hatred. This English sentiment was expressed by Marquis of Wellesly in his despatch to the Secret Committee of the Honourable the Court of Directors on July 13, 1804, in these words: ".....the growth of the hostile power of Mysore from the year 1792 to 1798, might probably have been controlled or even converted to the purpose of our

---

(34) P.R.C., Vol.III, No.63, P.67, February 5, 1790, Malet to Cornwallis.

security had it been possible to induce Tippoo Sultan to enter into a subsidiary alliance with the Company at the close of the war in 1792." (35). In all his letters, Cornwallis was particularly careful in his wording to the effect "only the reduction of Tipu Sahab's power" (36), and not the elimination of this enemy. The cause for concluding a treaty of "moderation and conciliation," (37) according to Munro, was manifested by Cornwallis in his letter to Dundas, in which he wrote, "we have at length concluded our Indian war handsomely, and I think as advantageously, as any reasonable person could expect. We have crippled our enemy without making our friends too formidable" (38). This might be the reason for the termination of hostilities even against the desire of a number of English officers who wanted the complete destruction of Tipu Sultan's power. General Medows was so much perturbed when he heard the cessation of the war that he tried to commit suicide by shooting himself. (39).

The English coveted the Malabar possessions of Tipu as it possessed immense commercial and military importance. The continuance of the place under his dominance would deprive them from the trade they had carried on extensively prior to the Mysorean occupation. (40). By ousting Tipu from Malabar they wished to convert their Tellicherry settlement "a possession highly valuable in point of commerce and of great political weight." (41). Pleading for the reduction of Cannanore, Taylor, the Chief of Tellicherry settlement pointed out to Amherst on June 28, 1790 "In another point of view the reduction of Cannanore would prove very beneficial by securing

---

(35) The Despatches, Minutes, and Correspondence of the Marquis Wellesly K.G., Edited by Montgomery Martin, Vol. IV., No. XXXIII, P.160.

(36) P.R.C., Vol. III, No. 121, P.157.

(37) Gleig: Munro, i, P.131, quoted by Mohibbul Hasan Khan, P.270.

(38) Ross: Cornwallis, ii, P.155, quoted Mohibbul Hasan Khan, P.271.

(39) Kirmani: History of Tipu Sultan (Miles), P.103.

(40) Fgn.Sec.Pol.Pro., August 20, 1789, S.No.96, Sept.25, P.1849.

(41) Ibid, PP.1855-6.

the Company a considerable quantity of pepper annually exported by Bibi in vessels of her own and sold at different ports in India on her own account" (42). When the peace talks were going on, the Bombay Government did not forget to bring in to the notice of Amherstcromby the immense importance of the Malabar Coast with a view of its acquisition. They wrote to him, "the territory from Goa, to Cochin, from the sea-coast to the ghats includes a country valuable in every respect of situation, produce, revenue, and commerce by fortifying the passes in the mountains it may be defended with a small body of troops and by our having possession of the ports, Tigu will be cut off from all communications with the French and other European powers who have hitherto supplied him with military stores and he will thereby effectually be excluded from a very essential resource for carrying on future wars." (43).

Thus "Calicut 63 Taluks" valued at "C. Pagodas 8,48,765 - 5 - 4½" and "Palghaterry" with an estimated revenue of "C. Pagodas 88,000", that were passed finally under the dominance of the English East India Company. (44). Apart from this the English obtained from the districts of Bramahal and Dingigal and the whole territory of the Raja of Coorg. The cession of Malabar to the English, a place of strategic and commercial importance facilitated the English supremacy in India. Soon after the conclusion of the peace, Cornwallis directed Amherstcromby to make speedy arrangements for evolving a system for the future Government of Malabar. He promised two civil servants to act in concert with the gentlemen to be appointed by the Bombay Government, to enquire and settle the Malabar affairs. General Amherstcromby came down to Cannanore and appointed Mr. Farmer, a senior merchant and Major Dow the military commandant of Tellicherry as Commissioners (45). The Malabar Rajas

---

(42) P.R.C., No.130, P.137.

(43) Ibid, No.448, P.283.

(44) Fgm.Misc., No.54, 1792, Kennaway. Also Ibid, S.No.55, PP.242 84-5. Logan: Treaties etc., II, II.

(45) Fgm.(Misc.) S.No.55, Para.80, P.90.

who came under the protection of the English at the commencement of the war on certain agreements, but "not so comprehensive as could be wished, since they provided for the emancipation of the Malabar Rajas, from Tipu, but did not clearly express their dependence on the Company" (46). Therefore, new treaties were signed by these Rajas as desired by the Company. (47). The Kadattnad Raja was the first to agree to a settlement on April 25, 1792. The Treaty provisions were as follows:-

1. The Raja to remain in the exercise of all his rights and authority subject only to the control of the Company in case of oppressing the inhabitants.

2. A resident or Diwan to reside with him to enquire into any complaints of oppression.

3. Two persons on the part of the Company and two on that of the Raja to make a valuation of the revenues of each District.

4. Amount of revenue payable by each subject to him be ascertained.

5. The Raja's tribute to be settled in October, according to the appearance of the crop.

6. The Government share of the pepper to be delivered to the Company at a price fixed in December.

7. The remaining pepper must be purchased exclusively by merchants appointed by the Company, and

8. Lesser points which might arise from time to time to be left with Mr. Taylor, the Chief of Tellicherry to adjust and the whole was to be considered as temporary and subject to the confirmation of General Amherst on his return to the Coast. (47-a).

Similar treaties were signed and exchanged between all the Rajas and the Company. The treaty provisions will clearly

---

(46) Ibid, Para. 81, P. 90.

(47) Ibid, Para. 82, P. 92.

(47-a) Logan: Treaties etc., II, IV.

show how arbitrarily the English had dictated the terms on the local Rajas. Thus 'the freedom struggle' of the Malayalee Rajas terminated in their absolute submission to the English.

As we have seen that the ostensible reason for the declaration of war against Tipu was in defence of Travancore. But no importance was given to her when the treaty was concluded with Tipu. The name of the Raja was not even mentioned in the Treaty. It was he who suffered the attack of Mysoreans and avowedly supported the English with men, money and materials. For the conduct of war, he contributed twentyfive lakhs of rupees.(48). The official historian of Travancore laments that the English counted very much on money not on friendship.(49). His cherished idea of becoming the undisputed Perumal or emperor of Kerala after removing the Mysorean supremacy with the help of the English was shattered to dust and instead he was made one of the vassals of the English on the same conditions other Rajas of Malabar became their dependants. Neither he obtained any indemnity either in cash or in territory nor he could hope of enjoying free air as an independent ruler. The outbreak of hostility between Tipu and the Raja of Travancore occurred on the question of the purchase of Ayyacottah(Pallipuram or Paliport as it is called now) and Cranganore Fort. The net result after the successful completion of the war was that the Raja was required to hand over Cranganore to the Cochin Raja.(50). "Thus the success that was recorded in golden letters in the history of Travancore", observes P.K. Balakrishnan, "will remain for ever

---

(48) Pol.Pro., July 13, 1791, Cons., Nos. 11, & 12.

(49) Sankunry Menon: History of Travancore, P.240.

(50) Mohibbul Hasan Khams Co.Cit., p.269.

particularly in the history of military victories of the world as a wonderful and memorable misnomer." (51).

In fact the whole of Malabar did not come under the English by the Treaty of Seringapatam. The North-eastern part of Malabar namely Wynad was not included in the cession. But the English possessed it more or less till the eve of the last Mysore war. Tipu made remonstrances against this illegal occupation of his territory which was not either included in the partition or ceded to them. (52). A number of letters were exchanged between him and the Company. (53). During March, 1797 when Colonel Dow pursuing his operations against the Pichay Raja wanted to ascertain the Company's right over Wynad. He ascended the Thamarasseri pass and marched through the Wynad district as far as Periah. Shortly after reaching there, he received letters from Tipu's officer protesting against his marching with a force through Wynad which he claimed as a portion of Sultan's territory. (54). In the Consultations of March 13, 1798, instructions were issued "not to employ force if Tipu sent army to occupy Wynad." The English were required to withdraw to the ports "after giving a protest to the Commandant of Tippoo's army" (55). It was only in September, 1798, the Governor-General Lord Cornwallis, after the full consideration of the matter came to the conclusion that "Wynad was not ceded to the Company by the late treaty of peace and that it belongs by right to his said Highness, the Nawab Tippoo Sultan Bahdur," who was to be permitted "consequently to occupy the said district whenever it may suit his pleasure." (56).

---

(51) P.K. Balakrishnan: Tipu Sultan, P.307.

(52) Beaton: The origin and Conduct of War with Tippoo Sultan - Appendix No. V, Tipu to Sir John Shore, April 27, 1798.

(53) See Fgn.Sec.Cons., March 13, 1798, Country powers.

(54) Fgn.(Misc.) S.No. 55, Paras. 233-34, PP.215-217.

(55) Fgn.Sec.Cons., 1798, Country powers, 1st January to 11th May, 1798, Cons., 13th March.

(56) Logan: Treaties etc., 11, CLXXII.



On the eve of the commencement of the Fourth Mysore War N.B. Edmonstone before enumerating the charges levelled against Tipu, wrote "the Company was always just to see justice is done and accordingly Wynaad was given back...Yet the hostility and design to destroy the Company's interest in India is predominate with Tipoo...." (57). But it took more than six and a half years to do justice to a just claim and strangely enough within a few months the place again fell into the hands of the English after the fall of Tipu Sultan. Thus the whole of Malabar came under their sway. With the close of the 18th century, all the Malabar rulers were pensioned and removed from the burden of administration and Malabar became one of the districts of Madras Presidency.

—

---

(57) Fgn. (1789) Dept., Sec.Cons., 8th February No.6,  
N.B. Edmonstone to Tipu Sultan, 9th March, 1789.

### C H A P T E R    I I I

#### **ADMINISTRATION OF MALABAR UNDER HAIDAR ALI AND TIPU SULTAN**

(a) Integration of small principalities. The most important revolution that brought out by the Mysore rule in Kerala was the integration of the small principalities, as a result of which "the whole of Malabar came to be organised under one political control." (1). "The disappearance of the feudal system of administration and its replacement by a centralised system of Government" (2), had far reaching consequences not only in the political sphere but also in the social and economic aspects of Kerala life. K.V. Krishna Iyer, in his work "The Zamorins of Kozhikode", has to admit that "during the Mysore occupation the old order was completely changed." (3). We have to add to this that a new set up which was hitherto unknown to the people of Kerala, "based on modern and progressive ideas" (4), emerged in its place. The Nair nobles and princes could not compromise with this modern and progressive measures

---

(1) P.K.K. Menon: Kerala and the East India Company.  
History on the March, P.222.

(2) A. Sreedhara Menon: A Survey of Kerala History, P.304.

(3) K.V.Krishna Iyer: Zamorins of Kozhikode, P.254.

(4) A Survey of Kerala History, P.305.

brought out by the Mysorean administrators, because the principles of Government introduced by them were opposed to the usages of the country.

Before the Mysorean occupation, the country was parcelled out into congeries of small States, "the Government of which being perfectly feudal, neither laws nor system of revenue were known amongst the inhabitants"(5). Stein Van Gollenesse enumerates 42 small principalities and four important kingdoms in the year 1743.(6). "Each State was partitioned", writes Warden, "into gradations of military divisions from the NADUVAZHI\* to Desavazhi and every division or sub-division was designated by the allotted quota of Nairs it was required to bring into the field."(7). Thus the Kingdom was divided into a number of nada or districts of varying extent, each presided over by a hereditary Chief called Naduvazhi and each nad was, for military and other purposes, divided into desam, some of which were presided over by hereditary Desavazhis, while others being the private property of the Naduvazhi or the King were administered by the latter directly or by officers appointed by them. The Desam was further sub-divided not into territorial units but into caste and tribal groups such as the Gramam of the Namboodiris, the Tara of the Nairs, the Cheri of the low castes, the territorial limits of which, though more or less well-defined, over-lapped each other. The nad and desam of this coast differed from analogous territorial divisions elsewhere in that they consisted not of so many towns and

---

(5) Buchanan, Vol.II, p.548.

(6) D.R. No. 13, PP. 45-6.

\*Nadu means country equivalent to a modern district. Naduvazhi is the ruler of a Nad, whereas Desavazhi, the ruler of Desam.

(7) Warden's Report to Board of Revenue, September 12, 1815, Para.63.

villages but of so many Nairs, such as 'the Five Hundred of Kodakaranad', 'the Four Hundred of Annamanad' and 'Three Hundred of Chengazhinad'. (8). The affairs of the caste or tribal groups were under the management of headmen or leaders, Gramanis, Karanavas, Tandas etc. as the case might be. The Karanavas looked after the local affairs of the Tara, superintended the cultivation of the demesne of their chief who might be a king, a Naduvazhi, a Desavazhi or a mere Jemmi, received a share of the produce for their maintenance and rendered military services to him, whenever called upon to do so. The Desavazhis, where they existed, had the direction of all the affairs of the desom and saw to the execution of all the orders sent to them by the king or the Naduvazhi. (9). They were also military leaders subject to the authority of the Naduvazhi and marched at the head of their quotas when ordered to the field. The Naduvazhis had authority in their respective nads in all civil and military matters, but the extent of that authority and the degree of their subordination to the king depended upon their political status." (10).

Thus the 'Hindu Village' which existed in other parts of India was conspicuous by its absence in Kerala. (11). Instead, the caste and tribal units of Tara, Gramam and Cheri formed the lowest division in the political set up. These Taras and Gramams were virtually independent of the Naduvazhis and Desavazhis. The peculiar political usages observed by the rulers and nobles alike tend to develop such a system of disintegration of political authority the result

---

(8) See, Cochin State Manual, P.48.

(9) Ibid.

(10) Buchanan, Vol.II, P.394.

(11) Logan: Malabar Manual, Vol.I, P.87.

of which was anarchy and confusion. "The Nair inhabitants of a Tara formed a small republic." (12). Andrian Van Rheede, the Dutch Governor of Cochin from 1673 to 1677 made it very clear when he wrote, "no king of Malabar has the power to make contracts which are prejudicial to the interests of the land-lords, noblemen or Nayars; such a king would run the risk of being expelled or rejected by his subjects." (13). The representative of the English East India Company at Calicut, reported to his superiors in 1746, thus, "the Nayars being heads of the Calicut people, resemble the Parliament, and do not obey the King's dictates, but chastise his ministers when they do unwarrantable acts." (14). "The Nairs were, of course, best soldiers," writes P.K.S.Raja, "but their system of military organisation, which was based on service and obedience to the immediate feudal lord and not to the sovereign rendered it impossible for the king to depend upon the local militia." (15). Thus "the inefficient feudal hosts of traditional Malabar warfare" (16) made the unification of the country well-nigh impossible. Buchanan testifies to this fact in the year 1800, when he writes that the 'Desavazhis' assumed the title of the Raja in their respective territories and possessed full jurisdiction. (17). The Naduvazhis and Desavazhis always fought each other. The whole country was, thus in the words of N.K. Sinha, "in a state of anarchy, a sea of intrigues, conflicting interests and mutual jealousies" (18), before the Mysorean occupation of Malabar.

---

(12) Ibid: P.88.

(13) Quoted by Gollennesse in his 'Memorandum', 1743, P.52.

(14) Tellicherry Factory Diary, May 28, 1746, quoted by Logan, i, P.87.

(15) P.K.S.Raja: Medieval Kerala, P.197.

(16) K.M.Panicker: Malabar and the Dutch, P.64.

(17) Buchanan: Vol.II, P.395.

(18) N.K. Sinha: Haider Ali, P.252.

The peculiar condition of the Kerala country was the absence of a paramount power. Zamorin wanted to exert his authority.(19). But the traditions and usages were such that he could not do away with his tributaries and chieftains. The ruler had no right to interfere in the internal affairs of a chieftain, much less a tributary. The land held by them was hereditary and they enjoyed a right to hold in demesne. No ruler could deprive them of their ancient property. This was one of the important customs followed by the rulers of Kerala. Here lies the conspicuous difference between a feudal baron of medieval Europe and a Nair chieftain of Kerala. As the ownership of land rested with the nobles in Kerala, their properties could not be confiscated. The king was not the owner of the land contrary to the system of feudal Europe.(20). These nobles acquired lands not in the name of the kings.

The princes and chieftains were quite free to enter into any alliance or treaty with any power, or declare war and conclude peace or collect taxes and tolls. They were quite independent as free rulers. The only check upon their power was that they were not permitted to wear crowns or mint coins or keep a canopy over their head, which were considered royal prerogatives.(21). The strange political usage of reinstalling the vanquished rulers and chieftains after a war (22) and abstaining from awarding capital punishments to them (23), kept them unchecked and left them free from any fear of destruction. Another factor to be reckoned with was the influence of the temple kingdoms of the time. Most of

---

(19) Fgn.(Misc.) S.No. 55, P.18.

(20) Buchanan, Vol.II, P.360.

(21) Barbosa: A description of the Coast of East Africa and Malabar, P.107.

(22) P.K.S. Raja: Medieval Kerala, P.273.

(23) Ibid, P.274.

the lands were temple properties. (24). Just like the medieval Christian Church of Europe before the Reformation, they asserted rights and privileges over the temporal power. No ruler of Kerala was brave enough to fight against them and to pursue a fugitive prince who had taken asylum in these temples. They were sacrosanct and free from sacrileges. Sometimes the feudal elements combined with these ecclesiastical authorities rose the flag of revolt against their suzerain. (25). The rulers could not check these violent and disruptive tendencies because of the usages and traditions followed by them.

Therefore, neither these Naduvazhis or Desavazhis nor even the major Rajas possessed unfettered sovereign authority. Royal power was restricted to a great extent by the Nair nobles like Kaimals, Pillais, Karthavus, Nambiars etc. who possessed armies of their own. (26). The feudal nature of the military organisation made even the major rulers dependent upon the willing obedience of these Brahmin priests and Nair chieftains. Thus the absolute absence of a unifying central authority was the outstanding feature of Malabar politics on the eve of Haider Ali's conquest.

But this feudal anarchy and political instability ceased with the advent of Mysoreans in Malabar. The Desavazhis and Naduvazhis with their unbridled power were reduced to submission. The Central Government became effective and powerful. A country where a number of Chieftains rendering the administration of their respective territories at their will and pleasure could not afford to a uniform system of

---

(24) Buchanan, Vol.II, P.268.

(25) A. Balakrishna Pillai: Research in the History of Ancient Kerala, pp.13-16.

(26) K.M. Panicker, P.28.

administration. Buchanan testifies to this fact when he says "owing to the quarrels between the different Rajas and the turbulent spirit of the Nair Chiefs who were frequently in arms each other, the state of the country was little favourable to the introduction of good Government." (27). Malabar, when it came under the Mysoreans, gave a shock treatment to the ills of these out-moded feudal legacy and became one of the districts of a well-managed empire of India. It was placed under Madanna, "an experienced revenue officer as Civil Governor of the place." (28).

The Malabar district was divided into 12 Tockries or collectorships to each of which Tockridas and Seristadars were appointed. (29). These were again divided into taluks. After the Treaty of Seringapattam, those ceded to the Company on March 16, 1792 were: Calicut - 62 Taluks; Cotiote - 3 Taluks; Cartinaad - 3 Taluks; Cannanore - 1 Taluk and Cochin - 14 Taluks. (30). The Tara organisation though underwent certain changes was maintained by the Mysore Officers as the lowest unit of administration. "The experienced Mysorean administrators of Maidar Ali and Tipu Sultan", observes W. Logan, "applied to the territorial units which they endeavoured to foster and keep alive as villages with hereditary heads, an essential branch of their system." (31). Thus Calicut naḍ was divided into 125 desoms. They embraced precisely the same lands as the 72 Taras into which that naḍ was like-wise divided. Even the hostile historians of Mysore rule in Kerala have to agree that the British administrators built up their administrative and political system in Malabar on the foundations laid by Mysoreans, (32) and that the Mysore activities in Malabar prepared the political and administrative background

---

(27) Buchanan, Vol. II, P. 548.

(28) Logan, Vol. I, P. 409.

(29) Fgn. (Misc.) S.No. 56, Part I, P. 95.

(30) Ibid, No. 55, PP. 84-5.

(31) Logan: Vol. I, P. 88.

(32) A Survey of Kerala History, P. 305.



for the assumption of sovereignty later by the Company.(33). As the pioneers of the system, both Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan had to face innumerable impediments placed before them by the Nair chieftains who were wedded to the age-old traditions of the place that were adverted to above. One can very well imagine what would have been the severe repercussions when a system was destroyed and switched over to a new one, that too was instituted by an outside agency. In this task of replacing feudal anarchy that prevailed in Malabar by a strong centralised Government, both Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan encountered a number of rebellions and difficulties which they successfully overcame. Had the English not intervened and instigated the Nair rebels, the result would have been very beneficial. The political system practised by the Malayalees underwent a great revolution to which they could not reconcile for a long time. It deprived them of their old privileges and rights to assert their independence and assume sovereignty whenever they desired over the small territories they held by hereditary right. On the other hand, it enjoined on them to be loyal subjects, like other sections of the society. The political organisation again drastically affected their social and economic structure because these were built upon the foundations of political privileges and prerogatives. When the political power of the Nairs ceased, "with it went the feudal conception of Malabar polity"(34).

The greatness attributed to the achievements of Marthanda Varma of Travancore and Paliyath Koni Achan of Cochin is "the ruthless suppression of all the recalcitrant nobles"(35), who like the Malabar chieftains defied the royal authority

---

(33) P.K.K. Menon: Op.Cit., P.222.

(34) K.M. Panicker: Malabar and the Dutch, P.63.

(35) P.K.S. Raja: Medieval Kerala, P.197.

and made the formation of a strong monarchy impossible. Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan asserted the same in Malabar with the avowed intention of the unification of the country, for which act of political insight, both of them were severely criticised by the same historians who praise Marthanda Varma and Koni Achan for the same work done by them. This remains as a paradox in the yardstick of historical analysis. "It was he (Marthanda Varma) who in one generation expanded his kingdom", writes E.M.S.Namboodiripad, "from a petty principality of a few dozen square miles to the later State of Travancore and is thus rightly considered 'the builder of modern Travancore.'" (36). The accession of Marthanda Varma in 1729, opened a new chapter in the history of Travancore as well as in the history of Kerala (37). The time was such that "the country was honey-combed," observes Nagan Ayya, the Author of Travancore State Manual, "with petty chieftains who collecting round themselves lands of brigands subsisted on pillage and plunder and harassed the Raja and his subjects by turns frustrating all attempts to establish order or any settled form of Government" (38). He rose to the occasion and overcame the grave danger that posed against his royal authority. He genuinely desired to unify the whole of Kerala and wished to be the emperor therein. (39). By following a vigorous and aggressive policy the Raja was able not only to bring about the political unification but also to strike at the root of the feudal nobility in Travancore. 'The Ettuveetil Pillamar' (the Pillais or Mairs of Eight Celebrated feudal houses of Travancore), who were the turbulent nobles were all

---

(36) E.M.S.Namboodiripad: Kerala: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow, P.76.

(37) Medieval Kerala, Op.Cit., P.196.

(38) Nagan Ayya: Travancore State Manual, Vol.I, P.333.

(39) K.M. Panicker: Op.Cit., P.397.

siezed and executed (40). What Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan had done in Malabar was no more severe than the punishment meted out to the Nair nobles by Marthanta Varma. But this was an outright violation of one of the principal customs of Kerala according to which the Nair lords should not be punished with death even if they rebelled against the constituent authority. (41)&. Marthanta Varma was a prince trained in the school of modern developments and was determined to break the old customs. He began to annex the neighbouring States one after another. "This was the first occasion in which a state was thus dealt with in Malabar history" writes K.M. Panicker, "for until this time, the custom was merely to reduce the ruler of a conquered territory to the position of a subordinate chief and leave him in the enjoyment of his territory." (42). He continued his violation of the principles of Kerala dharma again by the suppression of his fissiparous nobles. K.M. Panicker goes on to say, "he showed himself during the whole of his career entirely devoid of a feeling for Kerala dharma ..... His attempt was to sweep off the whole Malabar polity and establish in its place an autocracy of the type which prevailed in Madura under the Naiks and in Trichinopoly under the Nabobs" (43). What prompted K.M. Panicker and similar historians of Kerala to pounce upon the Mysore rulers was that they also did act against the Kerala dharma. The ruler of Travancore who was a tributary to the Nawab and who was in the close neighbourhood of the Naiks of Madura was inspired by the centralised

---

(40) Medieval Kerala: Op.Cit., P.198.

(41) Ibid: P.198.

(42) K.M.Panicker: Malabar and the Dutch, P.64.

(43) Ibid: PP.62-3.

system of Governments that existed in that part of the country and tried to translate it into practical politics of Kerala. The historians, therefore, call him 'the maker of modern Travancore' and extoll him in hyperbolic terms. Same process of unification of the country was carried out by Komi Achan, the hereditary Diwan of Cochin, in that State. He is esteemed by all historians to this sacrifice of his class interest for the exaltation of the kingly powers. But the students of history are baffled to see that both Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan were mercilessly made victims of unmerited criticism by the same historians, for the same political process followed by them in Malabar.

The process of the integration of small principalities of Malabar fell upon the shoulders of the Mysorean conqueror. In Malabar, the feudal nobility continued to be powerful and there was no indication of its immediate disappearance. "In fact, there was every reason to believe," writes P.K.S. Raja, "that the existing system of civil and military organisation would have continued in North Kerala, but for the Mysorean invasion." (44). The Mysorean system of administration put an end to the feudal anarchy in Malabar, just like it was destroyed by Marthanda Varma in Travancore and Komi Achan in Cochin. The fact that Travancore and Cochin existed as separate States till the formation of linguistic States on November 1, 1956, when these were integrated into, and formed the modern State of Kerala, shows how effectively the elimination of petty principalities ~~was~~ was carried out in Malabar by the Mysore rulers. The English, after the cession of Malabar to them, tried to reinstate

---

(44) Medieval Kerala, P.219.

the old Rajas and re-establish the old traditions but failed deplorably in this respect. In this regard, they could only do away with the nice aspects of Mysorean reforms, at the same time failing miserably to innovate anything beneficial to the people. Finally as we have seen, the Malabar Rajas were pensioned and reduced to the position of Jennis or landlords under them.

(b) Changes in agrarian relations. The radical changes introduced in the agrarian relations and revenue administration can better be understood only if we know the salient features of Malayalee system of land tenure before the Mysorean occupation of Malabar. The most important point that has to be borne in mind is that the ownership right of the Jennis or land-lords was quite different from that in any other part of India. When the Mysoreans took up the task of land settlement they found the prevailing system of property right different from their own kingdom. As against the system of rulers having absolute ownership of all lands in the country as in other parts of India, the rulers in Kerala had no right to receive the annual land revenue. (1). The ownership rights of the rulers over the land was the least while those of private jennis were most in Kerala. Major Walker in his 'Report on the Land Tenures of Malabar.' made it clear in 1801 when he wrote, "in no country in the world is the nature of this species of property better understood than in Malabar nor its rights so tenaciously maintained.... The Jennakaran possesses the entire right to the soil and no earthly authority can with justice deprive him of it." (2). The nature of ownership of land vested upon Jennis or landlords,

---

(1) Fgn. (Misc.) S.No. 55, Para. 9, P.10.

(2) Major Walker: Report on the Land Tenure of Malabar, 1801.

is amply manifested by different 'Commissioners' in their reports, constituted for the purpose of studying the land tenure in Malabar, by the English. In the years 1807 and 1815 when Thackeray and Major Warden submitted their reports to the Board of Revenue, they emphatically declared, "the whole of land in Malabar cultivated or uncultivated is private property held by Jenn right. (3). .....the Jenn rights of Malabar vest in the holder an absolute right in the soil. (4). Dr. Buchanan who visited the place in 1800, gave a detailed description of the system of land tenure and the peculiar type of Jenn right enjoyed by the landlords of Malabar. (5). "Jennan right is antecedent to sovereign right," writes Nagan Ayya, "the peculiarity of the Jennan property is that their owners have absolute control over them in connection with their revenue and rents and they take from their ryots the 'nattam' or rents as well as the Raja Ehoam." (6). "Even forests, mountains and rivers in the country", testifies Hamilton, "are private properties" (7). All travellers to this country note this peculiar feature. The ruler had no right on the Jenn properties held by landlords. At the same time, the Jenn property embraced more than seventy-five per cent of the land, the rest being apportioned, as 'cherickal' lands held by the king and 'Devastanam' or the Devaswam lands appertained for the maintenance of the temples. (8).

Another important feature of land holding in Malabar was that no land tax was levied on the landed property (9).

---

(3) Thackeray's Report to the Board of Revenue, dated August 4, 1807.

(4) Major Warden's Report, September 12, 1815.

(5) Buchanan: Vol. II, PP. 358-360.

(6) Nagan Ayya: Travancore State Manual, Vol. III, P. 315.

(7) Hamilton: Description of Hindoostan, Vol. II, P. 276.

(8) Buchanan: Op.Cit., Vol. II, PP. 368.

(9) Fgn. (Misc.) S.No. 55, Para. 9, P. 10.

This made the ownership of the lands absolute with the Jennis. "In the political history of Malabar," writes W. Robinson, "one fact is at least supported by a considerable amount of evidence, viz., the lands were originally held free of rent and taxes." (10). Many a scholar dwells on the subject to find out reasons for this peculiar condition. W. Logan and C.A. Innes think that in the ancient period of Kerala history, land tax might probably have existed, but after the break-up of the empire of Perumals it ceased to exist. Both these writers have made a detailed study of the agrarian system of Kerala in their 'Malabar Manual' and 'Malabar Gazetteer', respectively. (11). "The absence of land revenue which appeared to the early enquirers and to the Court of Directors as extraordinary," observes Charles Turner, "is explained on the hypothesis' that the Brahmin whom the Hindu law ~~assumed~~ declared free from tax was the owner of the soil..... It is probable that some of the land was held throughout by Nayars, but these and the Mopilahs who were in possession as Jennis when the district was ceded by Tipu claimed the same completeness of ownership as was claimed by the Brahmins" (12). The Zamorin had in a characteristic letter to the 'Joint Commissioners' <sup>in</sup> 1792 assured them that "by the ancient customs of Malabar, the Nayars held their lands free; they paid no revenue to anyone...." (13). Sheik Zainuddeen, declared "whatever might be the extent of the land held by the people, the Government did not levy either land tax or share of the produce." (14).

---

(10) Report of the Malabar Land Tenures Committee, P.122.

(11) Logan: Malabar Manual, Vol.I, PP.596-721.

(12) Charles Turner's Minute on the Draft Bill relating to the Land Tenures of Malabar, Chapter II.

(13) Fgn. (Misc.) S.No. 56, P.207.

(14) Sheik Zainuddeen: Tuhfat-ul-Mushideen, P.83.

This unbridled right of the ownership of land to any kind of obligation to the Government found a drastic change with the advent of Mysoreans. As early as 1766, Haidar Ali entrusted his civil Governor Madanna, to organise an efficient land revenue administration. It is not quite certain how far the work was carried out by Madanna to the desire of his Master in the early years of Mysorean occupation. But the reference of Buchanan to the effect that the condition of the country under the reinstated Rajas between 1768-1772 was "worse than it had been under the Canarese Brahmins....."(15), shows that Madanna might have started his work right earnestly from the early years of Mysorean rule. The revenue settlement started by Madanna was, however, suspended before two years when the Malabar Rajas were reinstated on condition of a stipulated tribute in the year 1768.

Failing in this experiment, Haidar Ali took direct control of the administration of the Malabar affairs in 1773 and Srinivas Rao was appointed as Civil Governor.(16). Based on the principles followed in other parts of Mysore kingdom, he organised a systematic land revenue administration. As a prelude to this, the first land survey in the history of Kerala was conducted by him. The Mysorean administrators surveyed the land and fixed the land tax on the basis of the produce. These were absolutely unknown to Malabar. The measurement of land was calculated, till then, according to the quantity of seed grain required to sow a

---

(15) Buchanan: Op.Cit., Vol.II, Pp. 548-49.

(16) Buchanan: Vol.II, P.432.



certain field.(17). No land survey was known to the people (18) and "that the Malayalee had no means of determining correctly the extent of his cultivated land.(19). But he knew for certain how much seed was required for a certain field, what was the output of the land, and how much of the produce he had to give away as pattom or rent to the jenmi. Thus in the pattom paid to the jenmi, the Mysoreans found the simplest and most expeditious way of assessing the land revenue (20). "It was with the husbandmen and not with the landlords that the settlement was made."(21). A certain portion of the pattom or so-called rent paid by the husbandmen to the Jenmis, was taken by the Government as revenue. The important features of this system were that the intermediaries between the Government and the cultivator<sup>were</sup> eliminated, lands were surveyed, the Government share was fixed on the actual produce, and above all the Government established direct relations with the tenants. The salient feature was that the feudal aristocracy saw its complete disappearance. The settlement was made with the Kanamdars or tenants.

Only wet lands were taxed. Dry land and the property held by temples (Devaswam lands) were exempted from taxation.(22). "It was", writes Buchanan, "to prevent them (jenmis) from falling into absolute want"(23). Thus it can be seen that the land revenue, though a novel introduction

---

(17) Fgn.(Misc.) S.No. 56, P.863 (Part II).

(18) Buchanan: Vol., ii, P.355.

(19) Fgn.(Misc.) S.No. 56, Part II, P.937.

(20) Ibid, S.No. 55, Para.51, P.57.

(21) Logan, Vol.I, P.623.

(22) Buchanan: Vol.ii, P.368.

(23) Buchanan: Vol.II, P.367.

to Malabar, did not fall on the back of the tenants and create more burden on them. (24). The tax was collected on the Jenai's share or rent was to be taken into account. The Mysoreans called the land assessment as 'the huzur niuthi', (the Government tax) and the settlement can be styled as the 'Ryotwari system' which was followed by the English in certain provinces after many years of this Mysorean experiment.

After the Treaty of Mangalore (1784), Malabar was restored to Tipu who entrusted Arshad Beg Khan to reorganise the revenue administration. (25). The reforms of Arshad Beg Khan in the revenue settlement were praised even by hostile historians. (26). The method of Arshad Beg Khan supposes that one parrah of seed sown will, on a medium produce in each year, give ten parrahs, whereof  $5\frac{1}{2}$  will go to the cultivator and  $4\frac{1}{2}$  remain to be divided between the landholder and the Government. On the share of land holder and the Government viz.,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  parrahs, of which  $1\frac{1}{2}$  went to the land holder and three to the Government. (27) Buchanan writes that the pattam or rent paid for a poray sowing land varied from 2 to poraye of grain. That which paid the high rent were those produced two crops in the year and that which paid low rent, produced only one crop (28). The grain measure was commuted into money at Rs.40/- per 1000 seers of paddy. "In Hyder Ali's time ..... 50 per cent of the pattams", writes Logan, "payable either in kind or commutable into money at Rs.40/- per 1000 seers. In Tipu's, the rate continued to be the same, the revenue being collected in kind." (29). At the same time, those belonging to the English East India Company were assessed at 100 per cent

---

(24) Fgn. (Misc.) S.No. 56, Part II, Voucher No. 40, P.897.

(25) Ibid, S.No. 55, P.51.

(26) Ibid, Para.32, P.40.

(27) Ibid, Para.35, P.41.

(28) Buchanan: Vol.II, P.268.

(29) Logan: Op.Cit., Vol.I, P.634.

the pattom commuted to money at Rs.45/- per 1000 seers.(30). This shows the assessment was highly moderate and reasonable.

The assessment on garden lands varied from locality to locality taking into consideration the fertility of the soil and the yield of the garden. Crops like cashew, cardamom, cinnamon etc. and garden produce like plantains, vegetables etc. were exempted from taxation.(31). Only cocoanut trees, jack trees and pepper vines were assessed. The nominal fixation for each kind of tree was usually at the rate of one fanam (Annas two) for every bearing cocoanut tree, Annas four for every bearing jacktree, eight pies (four naye paise) for every bearing arecanut and Annas twelve for every pepper vine estimated to produce 15 seers of green pepper.(32). Trees which did not produce more than 10 cocoanuts were excluded from taxation as unproductive.(33). Thus in a garden of 100 cocoanut trees, old and unproductive trees would be less than 50 according to this calculation. The owner had to pay tax for 50 trees whereas both old and not yielding more than ten, would also produce the nuts that were exempted from taxation. Besides these trees, plantains, kitchen plants etc. were grown that were also exempted.(34). For the purpose of fixing the assessment, cocoanuts were converted at Rs.7-8-0 per 1000 nuts, arecanuts at Rs.4/- per thousand nuts, jacks at As.4 per tree. "The commutation rates," observes Buchanan, "were so much below market prices as not to leave the Jenmi altogether destitute"(35).

Further Arshad Beg Khan, Tipu's Governor, on receipts of complaints reduced the jama (demand) 20 per cent all round

---

(30) Ibid: P.677.

(31) Buchanan: Op.Cit., P.366.

(32) Ibid: PP.404-5.

(33) Ibid: P.404.

(34) Ibid: P.405.

(35) Ibid: P.404

on wet lands and gardens (36). Thus all reasonable grievances of the cultivators were readily redressed by the revenue officers of Tipu Sultan. (37). But the system was not above criticism. The Mysorean officers who assessed were strangers to the land and could easily be misled by the local informants who with the connivance of the land-holders under-estimated their lands or if prejudiced against any party over-estimated them. Thus as Buchanan testifies to it, "all the vigilance of the commander and his Master were certainly inadequate to prevent unjust inequalities in the original assessment and there cannot be a doubt that many land-lords who chose to corrupt the officers of revenue had their lands valued at a low rate and the deficiency which this occasioned was made up by valuing high the lands of those who were poor or too proud to corrupt the assessors." (38). It is surprising that Buchanan accuses Tipu in a later stage for resurveying the land and refixing the revenue, and separating the civil and military administrations under different officers. The anomalies that crept into the first survey and assessment were cured with rational and scientific treatment by Tipu Sultan. But this measure too was condemned even by Buchanan who clearly appraised the situation and knew that there were corruption and mal-practice in the first settlement. (39). When it was rectified, that too was made a subject of criticism. This is the general treatment of the history of this period by all English historians. Even now, instances are not wanting to substantiate the possibility of the officers being corrupted, and thereby

---

(36) Fgn. (Misc.) S.No. 55, Para.39, P.43.

(37) Ibid: P.57, Para.51.

(38) Buchanan: Op.Cit., P.446.

(39) Ibid: P.446.

defeating all lofty aims of beneficial schemes. But it will be cruel on our part to put the blame for all the irregularities of the officers under a Government exclusively on the shoulders of the policy-makers. Considering the cumbersome process of a revenue settlement in a country where it was unknown and considering the fact that the revenue officers of Tipu were from Mysore who being strangers to the land, might have been given wrong information by the local informants who had their own prejudices and also considering the want of proper communications etc., the task undertaken by them as pioneers in the field, should be reasonably appreciated though certain shortcomings were there. At the same time, both Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan were always prepared to redress the grievances when complaints were launched to that effect. (40).

In the year 1786, Tipu Sultan separated the civil and military functions of the Government as an effective step to prevent corruption and improve the efficiency of the revenue administration. Mir Ibrahim was made as the Governor of Civil Administration and Arshad Beg Khan retained the military functions. The land survey was again conducted and a number of irregularities of the first survey were detected. (41). Subsequent to this, lands held without title and payment of tax were brought under the purview of taxation. Following the opinions of Buchanan and Wilks who say that Arshad Beg's administration was successful and it was made at naught by the interference of Tipu by the separation of the civil and the military, K.M. Panicker makes this charge: "He (Mir Ibrahim) broke all the treaties, imposed new exactions, and generally

---

(40) Fgn. (Misc.) S.No. 55, Para.39, P.43.

(41) Buchanan, Vol.II, P.447.

infuriated the Nair Chiefs. Even the Moplah notable Mancheri Kurukal turned against Mysore." (42). These accusations are baseless. If stopping the evasion of land tax and bringing the illegal possessors of unauthorised lands under the jurisdiction of the revenue administration were a breach of treaty, the Mysoreans broke all treaties. They applied the law universal. The fact that even the Muslim landlord and devine Manjeri Kurukkal was not allowed to defy the law of the country amply illustrates that the Mysorean system was above caste or religious considerations. It is probable that the Kurukkal, because of his priestly attire and status in the Muslim community might have made use of his position to possess more lands than were actually there in the title deeds and evaded land revenue. Similar cases might have been detected in others also. When these illegal possessions were brought under justice and revenue law, the parties affected raised a hue and cry. It is interesting to see that the revolt of Manjeri Kurukkal was suppressed with the help of Ravi Varma, a prince of the Zamorin's family.(43).

The land-lords of Kerala were all Nairs and Namboodiris except a few Muslims like Kurukkal of Manjeri.(44). The policy of Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan was to eliminate the intermediaries between the actual cultivator and the Government. In Malabar, when they began the work of revenue settlement, they found that most of the Jenmis had fled from the country. This helped them to make the settlement with Kanam-dars or cultivators directly. The peasants and cultivators especially in South Malabar even now are Muslims whereas the landlords or Jenmis are Namboodiris and Nairs. The hostile critics of Mysore administration make out a point that the settlement was made with the cultivators in Malabar because most of them were Muslims. It is a gross misrepresentation of the fact as it was the policy pursued by them throughout their

---

(42) K.M. Panicker: Op.Cit., P.357.

(43) Fgn.(Misc.) S.No. 55, Para.51, P.57.

(44) Fgm.(Misc.) S.No.56, Part II, P.881.

dominion. In short, the new agrarian policy of Mysore Nawabs shook the edifice of the feudal society and toppled down the cracking pillars of its polity.

(c) Trade and Industry. We have seen that both Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan considered the possession of Malabar with its ancient ports of Calicut, Cannanore and Mangalore, extremely important. That is why they held Malabar dear and promoted its industry and trade. Kirmani testifies to the multifarious activities undertaken by Haider Ali to promote trade and industry in his kingdom. He writes that Haider Ali kept all merchants, traders and bankers with him by making them kingly presents and he also brought up their goods with the greatest avidity and at high prices. To horse dealers, he gave presents of gold and raiment besides the value of the horses he purchased and so liberal was he, that if on the road through his territories any horse by chance died he paid half the price of the horse. He continues: "His loans and advances of money were scattered like sand over in the face of earth." (1). He encouraged merchants from foreign countries to come and settle in Mysore so that the benefit of trade might prosper his kingdom. But unlike the Rajas of Cochin, Travancore and Malabar who either became vassals of foreign traders or yielded to their dictates and gave trade monopoly to the Europeans, the Mysorean rulers considered them only as mere merchants subjected to the law of the country like other subjects. This is clear from the letter written by Haider Ali to the Governor Fort William, on March 19, 1779, on the eve of Second Anglo-Mysore War. "There are many factories in my country", wrote he, "belonging to the Dutch, English, French, Portuguese, and Danes who trade in ~~the~~ my

---

(1) Kirmani: Nishan-i-Haidari (Miles) P.475.

country on the footing of subjects..."(2). Never in the reigns of Haider Ali and his son, the European traders could succeed in inserting a favourable provision of trade monopoly in any treaty engagements, even though they exerted their utmost to this effect. But they were allowed to continue their business like ordinary merchants of the country. After the Malabar conquest, Haider Ali extended his grant to the Dutch and the English to have their commercial activities in the Malabar Coast subject to the limit of the earlier contracts entered into with the Rajas of the Coast. At the same time, he created a fleet under his naval commandant Aly Raja of Cannanore and promoted maritime commerce to a greater extent.

In the time of Tipu Sultan also, trade and industry of Malabar received a great filip. "He was alone among the Indian rulers", writes Prof. Mohibbul Hasan Khan, "to realise that a country could be great and powerful only by developing its trade and industry." (3). A person of rare talents having "the audacity of conception, fertility of resource, and an over-weening sense of majesty" (4) would seldom fail to grasp the unprecedented attainments of European nations who had entered into the arena of commerce and industry. Therefore, like the Europeans, Tipu also endeavoured to reap the benefit of trade and commerce. Accordingly, the State monopoly on import and export commodities was imposed. He sought to set up State monopoly on gold ore and other precious minerals and metals as well as on tobacco and sandal wood, elephants

---

(2) Fgn. (Sec.) Dept., Fort William. Profl. of the Sec. Select Committee from 4th January to 28th January, 1779.

(3) Mohibbul Hasan Khan: History of Tipu Sultan, P.344.

(4) Miroč Bushan Ray: Op.Cit.



and teakwood, and cocoanut and pepper. That the European settlements in the Malabar Coast suffered very much in their trade activities due to this, is evident from the letter of the Chief of Tellichery to the Governor Fort William (5). The English felt even like winding up the Tellichery Factory due to the enormous loss in maintaining an establishment without any trade prospects. (6). But they believed that in future if Tipu could be dislodged from the Malabar Coast "Tellichery would be most important a settlement on the point of view of military and commerce." (7). This State monopoly introduced in Malabar was only the implementation of the commercial policy of Mysore Government pursued throughout their kingdom. How zealous were the officers of Tipu in carrying out successfully their master's prohibitory order and in preventing the unauthorised foreign merchants from dealing in the country, is evident in the reply given by Tipu Sultan to the Governor of Pondichery to his complaint that the officers in Malabar molested the merchants from Pondichery and stopped them in the frontiers with their merchandise. Tipu required the Governor, "in future when you despatch Bouparies into our dominions to purchase goods you must give them a letter from yourself to the Talukdar written in Malabar language when he will in conformity with your desire, suffer the specified articles to pass. The reason of the orders issued on this subject is that of late certain strangers have come into dominions, where borrowing money of the ryots and others, they have been guilty of various unwarrantable practices." (8). In another letter to Raja Ram Chundar, Tipu wrote, "two letters from you have been received. You write

---

(5) Fgn. (Sec.) Pol. Pro., August 26 - September 25, 1789, No. 96. Council Pro. of August 26, 1789, P. 1849.

(6) Ibid: P. 1849.

(7) Ibid: PP. 1855-6.

(8) Kirk Patrick: Select letters of Tippoo Sultan, No. XXI, PP. 34-5.

'vermillion is not procurable within our dominions and is only to be got at Pondichery.' This being the case, you must send money and buy at those ports..... There is no need of sending goods or merchandise to barter for it." (9). This is another example to show the strict adherence to the commercial policy of Mysore Government. Tipu enumerated his import and export policy in his letter to the Imam of Muscat telling the circumstances in which he was compelled to promulgate the policy of prohibition of trade without licence and permit. (10). The Government under Tipu Sultan did not want to give the profit that accrued from business to the foreigners and "realising that the European nations owed their greatness to commerce and industry, he undertook, the role of trader, manufacturer, banker and money changer." (11).

He had established ware-houses throughout his country with a view to monopolise the wholesale trade. When he received a letter of complaint from Raja Ram Chundar that the merchants and money lenders seldom visit and make purchases, Tipu replied advising him to go forward even if the profit was not much in the beginning. People would come when they realised the benefit of the system (12). It was a novel feature to the country and to the time in which he lived. The State discharged the functions of traders and merchants. To facilitate trade and commerce, a commercial department was established by him. (13). A sum of four lakhs of Rohitis equivalent to £128000 sterling was placed under the head of the commercial department for the purpose of fostering trade and commerce. (14). This zeal and enthusiasm can easily be understood when we read the commercial

---

(9) Ibid: No. XIX, April 9, 1785, P.32.

(10) Ibid: No. CCVII, P.241.

(11) Mohibbul Hasan Khan: Op.Cit., P.331.

(12) Kirk Patricks: Letters of Tippoo Sultan, No.XCVIII, P.129.

(13) Ibid: Appendix, E, No.V.

(14) Ibid: XI, III.

regulations issued by Tipu Sultan in the years 1793 and 1794.(15). He had constituted a Board of Commissioners of Trade and established 17 foreign and 30 home factories in several countries and districts respectively.

Another most commendable work introduced by Tipu in his kingdom was the State trading corporation. This was set up with a view of making the people participate in the commercial and trade activities. Shares were sold to his subjects, the value of which ranged from Rs.5 to Rs.5000. (16). Share-holders of Rs.5 to Rs.500 were given at the end of the year a profit of 50%, depositors of Rs.500 to Rs.5000 received a profit of 25% and those of Rs.5000 above got only 12% (17). If a share-holder wanted to sell his shares, he could do so without any difficulty. He would receive the share value and the profit due to him.(18). By this regulation, he aimed at giving more benefit to the poor as the ratio of profit varied in the inverse ratio of the amount of deposit.(19). No prince of his age thought of such beneficial and modern schemes in India and it remains as a marvellous experiment of wisdom and innovation. The introduction of banking and exchange business was another important scheme that gave great impetus to trade and industry. The exploitation of the poor peasants by the usurers was to some extent prevented by the State monopoly of banking business. No doubt the country and its people benefited much by these economic measures.

The Mysore Government exported sandalwood, ivory, rice, spices, and cotton and silk fabrics. Tipu's officers in

---

(15) Ibid: XXXIII, Appendix E.

(16) Wilks: History of Mysore, Vol.II, P.268.

(17) Kirk Patrick: Appendix E.

(18) Wilks: Cp.Cit., P.268.

(19) Hayavandana Rao: Mysore Gazetteer, Vol.IV, PP.21-25.

Malabar collected the land revenue in kind as against the practice under Haider Ali who took cash (20). This was because of the increase in export business. As an intelligent businessman, Tipu readily relieved the people from the burden of paying cash for kind, but made profit out of it by exporting the excess rice and cocoanuts. A number of letters of Tipu written to his Deroghs of different factories inside and outside India, show that Tipu excelled in the qualities of a professional merchant and a successful businessman. When he knew that the price of pepper and sandalwood had come down, he wrote to Meer Kasim, Derogh of Mascat, "not to dispose hastily or immediately of the black pepper and sandal wood but to wait till they had attained a desirable price." (21). Same is conveyed to him in two other letters of different dates in which Tipu gives direction "you must not be in haste to dispose of the cinnamon, sandalwood, blackpepper and rice imported at Muscat from Mangalore. Keep them carefully till they become dear and yield a profit and then sell them." (22). In another interesting letter, the Sultan gives instructions regarding the sale of sandalwood at the rate of 120 pagodas for the first kind, of 100 pagodas for the second quality, of 90 pagodas for the third kind and of 80 pagodas for the fourth quality and pepper for 80 pagodas per candy.

Not only did he make extensive export of commodities of his dominion but also encouraged the foreign merchants to establish factories and further the trade of the country. When Khaja Heratoon and others requested him for trade facilities, Tipu readily responded to them in these words: "We highly approve of your intention and desire you will repair in the utmost confidence with your merchandise either to the

---

(20) Wilks: Op.Cit., Vol.I, P.414-5.

(21) Kirk Patrick: No; CLIV, P.185.

(22) Ibid: CLVI, P.187 and CLX, P.189.

port of Mangalore or to the port of Calicut; where landing your goods, you shall in the first instance supply us at a fair price with such articles which we may want, after which you shall be let at liberty to sell the remainder at your pleasure." (23). A remission of 4/10th of customary duties was allowed by Tipu, when one Mao Saith, Dullal at Mascat wrote him of "his determination to establish a factory at Calicut" (24). Even when providing facilities for foreign merchants to establish factories and carry on trade, the State interest was zealously watched and looked after. No other Indian ruler tried to establish factories and ware houses in foreign countries. Tipu had his regular factory establishments in Mascat, Jaddah, and Ormuz. He made efforts to establish factories in Aden and Basara. (25). Outside his dominion in India, he had two factories at Cutch, one at Mundhi and the other at Mudra. (26).

One of the important duties entrusted with his embassies sent to foreign countries, was to fetch technical know how to manufacture various items of industrial goods and start with new industries. It was a cherished desire of Tipu Sultan to establish a pearl fishery in Malabar. He required his Darogh of Muscat to send pearl divers to Mangalore for this purpose. (27). Local traditions attribute to the genius of Tipu for attempting gold mines in Wynad which was actually worked out in the first half of 19th century under the English. (28). In his letter to Mohiyuddeen Ali Khan, Tipu after acknowledging the receipt of seven pieces of lead sent by him, writes, "it is usual for a silver mine or silver

---

(23) Ibid: CUXIII, P.189.

(24) Ibid: No. CCVI, P.239.

(25) Kirk Patrick: Appendix, E.

(26) Ibid.

(27) Ibid: No. CC, P.231 and LLX, P.187.

(28) Gazetteer of Nilgiri District, Vol.I, P.94.

earth to be found under a lead mine.... shall send persons skilled in such earth from the presence to examine..."(29). Tipu's attention was drawn to the necessity of a strong fleet and for that purpose he established two dock-yards, one in Wajidabad and the other in Mangalore.(30). The teak-wood on which the State monopoly was made was collected in large quantities from Malabar and sent for this purpose. Tipu through his agents in Jeddah and Muscat procured shipwrights for his ship building industry.(31). The models of ships were supplied by the Sultan himself.(32). How far these schemes were worked out in Malabar and how far they were successful, we do not know. But one thing is certain that Malabar would have benefited much better than it actually did if it was destined to continue under Tipu Sultan.

Tipu was no doubt inspired by the Industrial enterprises and the subsequent development of the European countries through industrialisation and banking. In India, it was he alone who felt the pulsation of the revolutionary development abroad. Therefore, he wanted to cope with these commercial countries by establishing his own factories and industries and manufacturing essential industrial goods for the domestic use and for the purpose of export. The students of history will be very much interested to read the letters written by him to his Daroghs of different stations requiring them, "we are anxious to procure some seed of saffaron plants, silk worms, date trees, almonds" etc.(33), in one letter and in other two letters "having ascertained in what part of the country saffaron is cultivated.... engage persons to purchase one or two maunds of the seed. Procure silkworms

---

(29) Kirk Patrick: No.CXCV, P.227.

(30) Mohibbul Hasan Khan: Op.Cit., P.353.

(31) Kirk Patrick: PP.234 and 282.

(32) Ibid: Appendix L, PP.XXVIII FF.

(33) Ibid: CCL XXII, P.300.

and their eggs with five or six men acquainted with the proper mode of rearing them." (34). Finally silk industry was developed by obtaining silkworms from Bengal, and Muscat (35). He had employed a number of European and Indian Engineers and artisans in his various industrial concerns. Scissors, balances, hour-glasses, knives, paper, watches, cutlery and guns were manufactured by his men. The silk and cotton industries of Mysore became world famous during his time. The best quality of sugar in India was produced in Mysore. The ordnance factories of Tipu manufactured arms, guns and gunpowder that were in certain cases superior to those of European make. In his letter to Louis XVI of France, Tipu wrote, among other things, on August 6, 1786, thus: "a double-barrelled gun made in the arsenal of the Sarcar, together with an embroidered dress is sent for the noble rank and will arrive." (36).

In fact the cause for the rupture with the English was the outcome of these activities to which the audacious English could not reconcile. When all other rulers vied with each other to obtain favours of arms and ammunitions from the European traders, it was the rulers of Mysore alone who had even competed with them by manufacturing better quality of guns and gunpowder. The rapid industrialisation of the country, establishment of trade corporations, Banking and trade monopoly accompanied by a prohibition of trade without licence etc. would never have been matters that could be overlooked by the English. It was he alone felt the necessity of developing our industries and technology to compete with the foreign merchants in India and also attempted to capture the

---

(34) Ibid: CLVI, P.187 and CLV, P.186.

(35) Ibid: CCC LXXV, P.418.

(36) Kirk Patrick: CCCXXVI, P.371.

foreign markets for Indian goods. "Tipu was the first Indian sovereign to seek to apply western methods to his administration," (37), and it was again because of this that the English wanted to eliminate him from Indian politics. If he was destined to live as long as his father, no doubt, the course of Indian history would have been a different one. But all ended with the Fourth Mysore War.

(d) Means of transport. Perhaps by far the most notable legacy of Mysore rule in Kerala, that has stood the ravages of time, is the network of roads finished by them in Malabar. The inland communications were carried out through waterways till the advent of Mysoreans. (1). Since the country was compartmented into petty feudal fiefs which were in perpetual feud and the mode of warfare in vogue in this part of the country, "where a force on the march went in single file and unencumbered by artillery" (2), the necessity of roads was never felt by the rulers. Further, the innumerable rivers that divide the country into small pieces made the roadmaking impossible. "It was because of the absence of roads alone", observes P.K.Balakrishnan, "the foreigners who were constantly in the Coast for more than 260 years (before the advent of Mysoreans) could not influence or enter into the interior parts of the country" (3).

In the minutes written by Colonel Dow 'On the State of Roads in Malabar' after its cession to the English, comments, "the necessity for spacious and broad roads was not probably felt until the Muhammedan conquest" (4). Corroborating Colonel Dow, W.Logan sums up: "it was only after the Mysorean

---

(37) H.H. Dodwell: Chapter on Tipu Sultan: Great Men of India, P.216.

\*22\* (1) Innes: Malabar Gazetteer, Vol.I, P.267.

(2) Logan: Malabar Manual, Vol.I, P.62.

(3) P.K. Balakrishnan: Tipu Sultan, P.252.

(4) Fgn.(Misc.) S.No. 56, Part I, P.1021, Voucher No.XIX.



invasions, the necessity of roads capable of carrying heavy guns began to be felt." (5). The author of Cochin State Manual enumerating the achievements of Cochin in the 1st half of 19th century, says "all the great roads in the State..... were constructed during this short period..." (6). This shows that till the 19th century, there were no roads in any part of Cochin. This can safely be accepted as a general rule regarding the whole of Kerala.

Another aspect closely connected with the means of transport that should be taken into credit, is that before the Mysorean invasion, wheeled traffic was unknown to Kerala. Ibn Battuta writing in the 14th century made his observation thus: "no one travels in these parts upon beasts of burden... when however any merchant has to buy or sell goods, they are carried upon the backs of men who are either slaves or coolies hired for this purpose. Big merchants may have hundred or more of these men to transpit their goods from one place to another." (7). Buchanan who inspected this country between 1800-1801, testifies: "In Malabar even cattle are little used for transportation of goods which are generally carried by porters." (8). He goes on to say that in this country, "there are no carriages." (9). Innes who wrote his Malabar Gazetteer in 1908 made the following observation: "Before his (Tiptu's) time wheeled traffic was unknown and even pack-bullocks were not used until comparatively recent times" (10). Therefore, the state of affairs prevailed in the latter half of the 18th century can very well be imagined. In this connection, an instance mentioned by the author of Cochin State Manual is worth reproducing to make the situation more clear. He writes "wheeled traffic was established between Coimbatore and Trichur for the first time in 1844. When one fine

---

(5) Logan: Op.Cit., P.62.

(6) C.Achutha Menon: Cochin State Manual, P.165.

(7) Ibn Battuta: Travel (Malayalam Translation), P.27.

(8) Buchanan: Vol.II, P.434.

(9) Ibid. (10) C.A. Innes: Op.Cit., P.268.

morning twelve bullock carts laden with goods from Coimbatore arrived at Trichur, where most people had not seen such a conveyance before, there was by all accounts more excitement in the place than when the railway train first passed through it 58 years later." (11). It was against this background of hollowness, the Mysore rulers undertook the tremendous task of knitting their vast kingdom by a network of roads, some of which are still in use even after the lapse of two centuries.

When Haider Ali descended from Mysore for the invasion of Malabar, he found no road for the passage of his cavalry. It was with much difficulty through "the roads or passages scarcely admitting more than three men abreast" (12), he came with his army when he knew the revolt in the province after a few weeks of its invasion. We have seen that the small Mysore garrisons in the block houses could fail even to communicate the attack of rebels on these military posts to the contingents cantoned in Ponnani and Calicut, because of the want of any inland communications. Therefore, Haider Ali, after the suppression of the revolt, resorted to the easier means of water transport and required his Commandant Aly Rajs of Cannanore to construct an artificial canal connecting the Mount Deli river and the back-waters of Taliparamba and Vallarpatanam rivers which was dug in 1766. This canal made the delivery of goods quicker and means of transport easier. It is called even now "the Sultan's Canal", (13) and is one of the important canals of today that serves as a speedy and shorter route in the whole of water transport machinery

---

(11) C. Achutha Menon: Cochin State Manual, P.165.

(12) History of Hyder Shah etc., P.76.

(13) Innes: Op.Cit., P.267.

in Kerala. Another means of transport registered under Haidar Ali was the setting up of a number of outposts at reasonable distances to facilitate the inland communications. The mighty Palghat Fort that stand in tact to the present day conveyed the means of communication between Malabar and Seringapatam. As Haidar Ali did not get much time to spend in Malabar, and as he was engaged in bloody wars with the English and Marattas, he could not claim the credit of being the pioneer of road-makers in Kerala.

This great task was enthusiastically carried out by his more famous son Tipu Sultan. "Tipu projected and in a greater part finished an extensive chain of roads", observes Colonel Dow in his 'Minutes on the affairs of roads in Malabar', "that connected all principal places in Malabar, and pervaded (even) the wildest part of the country." (14). In this context the observation in the Salem District Gazetteer is also noteworthy. It declares "the Britishers are not the first road-makers of India. Tipu's road engineering was of no mean order." (15). In the South, Tipu Sultan is, therefore, considered to have been the greatest of road-builders in the 18th century. (16). Considering the extensive and pervading network of roads and also considering the total lack of any such contribution of the English in this part of the country, Mr. P.K. Balakrishnan comments: "Tipu is not only the first to construct roads in Kerala, but also the last road-maker in Malabar." (17). Needless to elaborate the point as

---

(14) Fgn. (Misc.) S.No. 56, Part II, Voucher, No. XIX.

(15) Salem District Gazetteer, Vol.I, Part II, P.91.

(16) B.K.Sarkar: Inland Transport and Communications in Medieval India, P.32.

(17) P. K. Balakrishnan: Op.Cit., P.253.

it is evident that Tipu was "the pioneer of its (Malabar) roads." (18).

The whole of Malabar was connected with a chain of roads. As it is often said that 'all roads of the Roman Empire lead to Rome', "the grand termination of the intercommunications was Seringapatam and as the route necessarily led over the Ghats neither labour nor expense was spared in rendering it practicable for artillery." (19). The following is the important gun roads enumerated in the 'Minutes' of Colonel Dow:-

"1. From Calicut to the present cantonement Polways by Purrinalettu, Cheakkur, Tamaracherri.

"2. From Malappuram to Tannaracherri.

"3. From Malappuram to Padurani and from thence to the Ghat.

"4. From Calicut to Ferokia, Carate Hobbi, Elamaruthoo, Chatamungal, Purrinelattu, Tamaracherri.

"5. From Ferokia through Shernad Taluk by Chalapoora Hobli, Poolor, Tirurangadi, Venkattakotta, Poolanelatts, Erakelu, Kemaro, Waleakoomuttu, Tricharaparambha, Cowipara, Manjeri River, Pattambi, Walayar River, Coimbatore.

"6. From Palghat to Dindigal, Tallamangala, Wandelaraillatviel, Nellimoottiel, Wellikumbil, Margienayampalliam, Peelachi, Woranmalakatu, Kanneneruvaturu, Palni, Virupakshu, Dindigal.

"7. From Venkatakotta, Purumbil Walluanatakuny, Pal-keteri, Angadipuram, Muleakuruchi, Kariyalutu, Vellatur, Rapelallawuloora, Peyuat, Koondepulla River, Mannar, Attaparu, Tengraumhooroo, Wellimamuttu, Coimbatore.

"The northern division is in like manner pervaded by roads.... They lead from Mount Deli both by the sea-shore

---

(18) Innes: Op.Cit., p.268.

(19) Fgn. (Misc.) S.No. 56, Part II, Voucher No. XIX.

and through the interior parts of Chirakal, Cotiote, etc. generally having the direction the passes of Pudiacherrim and Tamaracherri." (20).

This report shows that no part of Malabar was left without roads. The Tamarasseri Ghat up which a steep gun-road ran, was the meeting place of no less than four roads. Two led by different routes from Malappuram and two from Calicut, one following more or less the line of the present Mysore road and the other passing through Feroke and Chathamangalam." (21). Feroke, Tipu's capital of Malabar, was connected with the Karkkur Ghat, by a road which runs through Kondotti, Edavanna and Nilambur, and with Coimbatore by two alternative routes referred to by Colonel Dow in his 'Minutes'. A road led via Tirurangadi to Kottakkal in the Ernad Taluk and then bifurcated, one branch going to Coimbatore by Angadipuram, Mannarghat, and Walayar (22). The Coast road from Beypore to Cranganore, which is even now called as 'Tipu Sultan Road', runs through Tanur, Ponnani, Valiyangadi, and Chetwai was another gun-road as was also the existing road from Tanur to Palghat by way of Pudiayangadi, Trittala and Lakkidi. Palghat was also connected with Dindigal and Kollengode, by lines of communication. (23). The Raja of Travancore apprehended this undertaking as an attempt to invade his country. In a letter written by the Chief of Tellicherry R.H. Boddham to C.W. Malet, the project of road-making by Tipu is conveyed in these words: "The Resident Anjengo under the 23rd ultimo, transmitted us a letter which the King of Travancore had addressed him expressing his apprehension, on account of having received advice from the King of Cochin, that Tipu was expected at Calicut, from which

---

(20) Ibid.

(21) Innes: Op.Cit., P.268.

(22) Ibid: P.269.

(23) Ibid: P.269.

place towards the Ghats, a road was making to facilitate his approach." (24).

It can very well be imagined how intensively the work was carried out when we see that this grand work was completed within six years immediately after the Second Anglo-Mysore War. In fact, from 1790 itself, Malabar was lost to Tipu though it was legally ceded to the English after the Treaty of Seringapatam in 1792. It marks a glaring contrast with the English who even after ruling the country for 150 years, could not do what Tipu did during this six years in Kerala. (25). He employed thousands of labourers for the construction of this work. Buchanan saw in Trithala and other places in 1800 the inns established by Tipu Sultan for the use of the travellers and his workers. (26). He testifies that Tipu had to bring down from Mysore Brahmins to run the inns as the local Hindus considered the work as a menial and shameful job. (27). In 1807, Thackeray, felt justified in reporting to the Board that "Malabar was intersected by better roads perhaps than any other province in India." (28). "His routes are in general well-chosen", wrote Colonel Dow, "and led through almost every part of the province." (29). Tipu's gun roads are said to have been a prominent feature in his reign. The road-making in Malabar was only a part of his work of the same nature which was undertaken in all parts of his empire.

The hitherto unknown political unity and integration of the country was complete by welding together of these places that were once parcelled out as congeries of small principalities into a single political unit. The speedy transmission of conveyance, quicker and easier arrangement of

---

(24) P.R.C., Vol.III, No. 21, P.19, October 19, 1787.

(25) P.K. Balakrishnan, Op.Cit., P.254.

(26) Buchanan: Op.Cit., P.227.

(27) Ibid.

(28) Quoted by Innes, P.269.

(29) Fgn. (Misc.) S.No. 56, Part II, Voucher No. XIX.

communication and safer means of travel and transport are indispensable for commercial and industrial development. As we have discussed in the preceding topic that Tipu was the only Indian prince who felt the industrial developments and revolutionary changes that had occurred in the means of transport and communication as a corrolary to the Industrial Revolution. Improvement of the means of transport is a sinegunon to foster the industries and trade. Tipu's network of roads guaranteed political security, economic prosperity and commercial development. It is also necessary for the running of an administrative machinery and its working with precision and speed.

In all countries, public works are undertaken only during the time of peace and security even to the present day. We were made to believe by the writings of historians that this period of Malabar was certainly a period of rebellions and disturbances, chaos and disorder. If it were so, no one can finalise such a major scheme in a country of rebellions and confusion. Further, no one would have expended that much of money and effort in a place where his authority was questioned and at stake. The roads of Tipu Sultan speak otherwise to the students of history that it was a period of political security and economic stability that the Government under Tipu Sultan found it to expend enormous amount on public works. We have seen that the feudal hosts were subjugated and the country was knitted together under an efficient administrative system. Again, it was a time when easier means of transport and communication facilitated trade and travel on an unprecedented scale. Above all, it was a period when people from different States of India could constantly contact one another and converse together helping the fusion of different cultures and habits into a homogenous cultural synthesis. It is a bewildering fact that in spite of all these monumental

contributions if the traces of these lasting imprints were not bequeathed to posterity, it would have been difficult to refute the allegations that are made against this Mysorean administrator of whom James Mill remarked "as a domestic ruler, he bears advantageous comparison with the great princes of the East"(30). Since the English could not erase the lasting work left by Tipu Sultan in every part of Malabar ground, they had to admit that he was the pioneer in road making in Malabar. Even if Tipu did not do any other reform in Malabar, this alone will ~~xx~~ crown him with lasting glory.

(e) Social Reforms. We have seen the structure of Malayalee society as imbedded on feudal bed-rock in which only the Nambhodiris and the Nairs who ranked first and second respectively in the caste hierarchy were counted. This system "what is called 'kanam Jamma Marvada' - the totality of relations between the Kanam and Jemm tenures - was so different from any other part of India," writes ~~xxx~~ E.M.S. Namboodiripad, "that out-siders were dumb-founded when they were told about it."(1). Because, it was this system that again determined the social relations and habits of different castes. They were so intermingled that to study the feudal system of Kerala separately without giving due consideration to its bearing and strong hold over the conduct and behaviour of the society will be an anomaly. It was so framed that it would serve the unquestioned authority of landlords, and at the same time the unreserved servility of the subordinate classes in the society. The system of marriage and manner of dress required to be followed by all castes except the Nambhodiris who were the landlords or Jemmis originated from this system.(2).

"The tradition fostered by the Brahmins", says the author of Cochin State Manual, "ascribes to the mandate of

---

(30) Mill: History of British India, Vol.VI, P.148.

xx (1) E.M.S.: Kerala: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow, P.3.

(2) Prof.Elankulam Kunjan Pillai: Jemmi Sambradayan  
Keralathil, P.82.



Parasurama which ordained that 'sudra' women should put off chastity and devote themselves to satisfy the desire of Brahmins." (3). This is supported by all writers, prominent among whom is L.K. Anandakrishna Iyyer who, in his 'Cochin: Castes and Tribes', an invaluable work of its kind, observes that the Brahmins who are possessors of religious tenets pronounce 'sioks' (hymns) to the effect that the Nair women should not observe chastity." (4). Thus the regular and legal marriage for Nairs was prohibited by the Caste rules. This device, was imposed by the Namboodiri Jennis on the 'gentry' of Malabar because their laws strictly ordain that only the eldest member of the house-hold should be left free to enter law-ful wedlock with a woman of their own caste, the younger members being left to shift for themselves in this matter. (5). The author of 'Malabar and its folk', writes that the ~~malabar~~ Brahmin ingenuity discovered a ready means of getting over the difficulty by a social prohibition of all valid marriages among the Nairs, which would otherwise have prejudicially interfered with their conjugal destinies. Thus it came about that the custom of concubinage so freely indulged in by the Brahmins with Nair women obtained such firm hold upon the country that it has only been strengthened by the lapse of time. (6).

As a result of the prohibition of marriage and the Caste law that ordained to put off chastity, there developed a system of what is called 'Sambandam' or irregular marriage in which a Namboodiri can cohabit with any Nair lady he likes without incurring any kind of future obligation or liability.

---

(3) C. Achutha Menon: Cochin State Manual, P.193 and Prof. Elamkulam, Op.Cit., P.82.

(4) L.K. Anandakrishna Iyyer: Cochin: Castes and Tribes, P.35.

(5) Fgn.(Misc.), S.No. 56, Part II, Para.13, P.13.

(6) Malabar and its Folk, P.26.

The theory justifying this system is that the Namboodiris being direct descendants of Gods, their 'sambandham' with Nair women is considered to be sacred and divine. If the Namboodiri is pleased, God is pleased and the family which gets the opportunity to please him is blessed with eternal affluence and happiness. The Namboodiri right to enjoy any Nair woman is, therefore, divine and denial of him is denial of God. Nairs if they have beautiful girls long for their 'Sambandham' with Namboodiris or at least prefer them for their deflowering.(7). Writing in the year 1900, T.K. Gopalakrishna Panicker observes: "at the present day, there are families especially in the interior of the District (Malabar) who look upon it as an honour to be thus united by Brahmins"(8). Some of the features of this mode of marriage prevalent among the Nairs in Kerala, are described in a preceding Chapter. Therefore, it does not require much elaboration. But we have to point out the two important outcomes of the regular practice of this system. They are the immoral practice of polyandry and the system of matriliney. Both were universally recognised orders among the Nair community of Kerala of which certain elucidations are required to understand the strange odds against which Tipu Sultan had to fight when he began his social reforms.

The author of 'the History of Hyder Shah and of his Son Tippoo Sultan' writes that the Nairs are the nobility of the Malabar Coast and that they are the oldest nobility in the world for the ancient writers mention them and quote the law that permits the Nair ladies to have many husbands and that each husband gives a sum of money or portion at the time of marriage and the wife only has the charge of children.(9).

---

(7) Fgn.(Misc.) S.No. 56, Part II, P.971.

(8) T.K. Gopalakrishna Panicker: P.36.

(9) History of Hyder Shah etc., P.60.

Sheik Zainuddeen who was a native of Malabar says, "Nair ladies will have two or four or more husbands. The date and time of each will be fixed previously and there is no quarrel on this issue." (10). "If the Nair lady is beautiful, " writes S.K. Anandakrishna Iyyer, closely following Buchanan (11), "many Nairs live with her. The ever-increasing number of them, increases her respectability in the society." (12). We get abundance of descriptions of the system of polyandry prevalent in the Nair Community of Kerala from the writings of all the travellers and historians who visited the place and wrote about the Malabar society. (13). It thus became a recognised practice for a Nair woman to engage as many husbands as possible at the same time, so that there was no difficulty in finding substitutes for the drop-outs. She began to master all tricks of the trade.

As an inevitable consequence of polyandry, the system of matriliney came into existence among them. The reason assigned to this by all historians is that the Nairs being professional soldiers could not shoulder the burden of maintenance of families and, therefore, it was left to the responsibility of Nair ladies. (14). Again by matriliney, a peculiar system of inheritance and curious form of relations between sons and fathers evolved in the society. "The Nairs even the Zamorin and the other princes", writes the author of History of Hyder Shah etc. "have no other heirs than the children of their sisters." (15). This law has established that

---

(10) Zainuddeen: Op.Cit., PP.72-3.

(11) Buchanan: Op.Cit., P.472.

(12) L.K. Anandakrishna Iyyer: Op.Cit., P.39.

(13) Vide - Hamilton: New Account of the East Indies, Vol.I, P.310; Buchanan: A Journey from Madras etc., Vol.II, PP.411-2, Abdul Razaack: Travels, Vol.II, P.354; Nicolo Conti: Travels, P.145; Barbosa: A Description of the Coasts of South Africa & Malabar, PP.122-25.

(14) Fgn.(Misc.) S.No. 56, Part II, Para.12, P.13.

(15) History of Hyder Shah etc., P.60.

the Nairs, having no family, might be always ready to march against the enemy. When the nephews are of age to bear arms, they follow their uncles.(16). Sheik Zainuddeen, Barbosa and Buchanan corroborate the statement above.(17). Since the children did not know their father, they remained with the mother. The mother having several husbands, the children born to a particular woman did not have a common father and in many cases the paternity of the children could not be ascertained with definiteness. Barbosa made it very clear when he wrote "the children which she has, remain at her expense.... because they do not know their father." (18). "The name of father is unknown to a Nair child. He speaks of the husbands of his mother and of his uncles, but never of his father." (19).

To facilitate this wanton conjugal relations, another caste rule imposed on all except the Namboodiris was that men and women should not cover the upper part of their body. Ibn Battuta who in the 14th century remained more than eight years in this part of the country gives interesting details of this mode of dress.(20). "In Malabar all Hindus whether male or female; rich or poor," observes Sheik Zainuddeen "are half-naked. Only a single loin cloth is girdled round the waist leaving the upper part exposed. In this respect, males and females, Rajas and nobles, rich and poor are equal" (21). Even in the year 1908 when C.A.Innes wrote his Malabar Gazetteer, he found "them to wear nothing above the

---

(16) Fgn.(Misc.) S.No. 56, Part II, Para.10, PP.11-12.

(17) Sheik Zainuddeen, Op.Cit., P.74; Barbosa; Op.Cit., P.124; ~~182~~ Buchanan; Op.Cit., PP.472-3.

(18) Barbosa; Op.Cit., P.124.

(19) History of Hyder Shah etc., P.60.

(20) Ibn Battuta: Travel (Malayalam translation), P.74.

(21) Zainuddeen: P.63.

waist and it was considered immodest to cover the breast." (22). These were strictly observed as caste rules and any deviation from these practices was equal to blasphemy. (23). Many an instance of cruelties was cited by K.P.Padmanabha Menon, in his monumental work on 'the History of Kerala' to show the insistence and strict adherence to this savage law. An Ezhava lady who happened to travel abroad and who returned well-dressed, was summoned by the Queen of Attingal and her breasts were cut off for covering them. (24). The practice was vogue till very recently. The Nair ladies with naked bosoms parade in front of the 'Aaraat procession' that starts from the Padmanabha temple of Trivandrum to the beach nearly 3½ miles in length. (25). The Nair ladies of Travancore and Cochin have to remove their jackets to this day when they go before the members of the royal family. (26). This was followed throughout Kerala. The reason assigned to it was that covering the bosom was tantamount to disrespect ~~and~~ and immodesty. These were the prevailing systems observed in Kerala, the reforms of which was the avowed desire of Tipu Sultan.

All historians agree on one point about Tipu Sultan that he was free from all prevailing vices of his time. His zeal to eradicate the savage practices among his subjects had become proverbial. Himself abstaining from all excesses and extravagances, he advised his people to follow suit and exhorted them to observe purity and chastity in life. Tipu might have been shocked to witness the abominable practices

---

(22) Innes: Op.Cit., P.142.

(23) L.K. Anandakrishna Iyyer: Op.Cit., PP.100-1.

(24) Grose voyages, quoted by K.P.Padmanabha Menon: History of Kerala, Vol.III, P.192.

(25) Ibid.

(26) Ibid.

referred to above, prevalent in the Kerala society, because Kirmani says about him "in delicacy or modesty of feeling, he was the most particular man in the world, so much so that from the days of his childhood to that of his death, no one ever saw any part of his person except his ankle and wrist and even in the bath he always covered himself from head to foot." (27). The social reforms of Tipu Sultan studied with this background of his personal habits, would make none feel that they were aimed at interfering with others' religious observances. As a strict moralist, he required the people to cover the delicate parts of their body and prohibited the women going about exposing their bosoms. This was not peculiar to Kerala alone. "The whole of the territories of Balghaut" writes Kirmani, "most of the Hindu women go about with their breasts and their heads uncovered like animals. He, therefore, gave orders that no one of these women should go out of her house without a robe and covering for the head. This immodest custom was, therefore, abolished in that country" (28). What Kirmani calls 'immodest custom' was modest and respectful practice in Kerala. Therefore, both ends could not meet. The caste rule was so rigidly followed that even the lowest castes did not deviate from the rules. When Tipu Sultan knew that there was a tribe ~~nt~~ called 'Malai Kondigarus' in Malabar the men and women of which go about naked, he called the headmen and required him to advise his fellow-men to dress up decently. Tipu promised that if it were necessitated by poverty, he would provide them gratuitously with the clothes necessary for the purpose every year. But the savages made humble remonstrances begged hard to be allowed to dispense with the encumbrance of clothing. They finally told him that, if they were forced to wear clothes contrary to the rules of their caste, they would go and live in some other distant forests where they could follow their

---

(27) Kirmani: History of Tipu Sultan (Miles - Trans.), P.133.

(28) Ibid.

customs unmolested.(29). Tipu left them to their fate without further persuasion.

Again, he forbade, by a royal edict, the pernicious practice of polyandry prevalent in the country.(30). At any cost he wanted to stop this evil system. An instance mentioned by Kirmani is the clear manifestation of the concept of morality and the strict observance of it by Tipu Sultan. He says that when Tipu was sleeping "two ladies of the deceased Nawab's family both of them young and beautiful (God knows with what intention, good or bad) came forth from their apartments and began to rub his feet. While, however, they were doing this, he awoke and when he saw.....he became ~~was~~ exceedingly angry at their presumption and trembling with rage" admonished them.(31). To such a God-fearing catholicity the unchaste and loose life would be an eye-sore. Therefore, in strong words and severe terms, he condemned the practice of polyandry.

Another important reform of Tipu Sultan was the prohibition of intoxicants throughout his kingdom. "The Nairs are excessively addicted to intoxicating liquors" writes Buchanan.<sup>(32)</sup> The moral and social uplift of his subjects was the ideal of his kingship and throughout his life he longed untiringly to attain this goal. His letter to Ghulam Hyder, Amil of Bangalore, dated January 4, 1797, is an eloquent testimony to his ardent desire to see his prohibition policy implemented successfully throughout his dominion. He wrote, "the account stating you had strictly prohibited the distilling and vending liquors, and had more over made over the whole of body of vintners enter into written engagements to

---

(29) Abbe J.A. Dubois: Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies, P.78.

(30) Kirk Patrick: No.XIV and Wilks: History of Mysore, Vol.II, P.120.

(31) Kirmani: Op.Cit., P.133.

(32) Buchanan: Vol.II, PP.412-13.

deist from selling liquors is understood. You must also make the distillers execute the similar engagements and then oblige to take up some other occupation." (33). This letter also gives the means of implementation of the prohibition policy. He forbade the employment of female servants for domestic work as it would lead to immoral activities. He wanted his officers also to lead a life of morality and simplicity. When he heard about the illicit relation of his Faujdar at Calicut with a Nair woman, Tipu immediately insisted on his leaving the courtesan. (34). Professor Mohibbul Hasan Khan states that 'Makezie manuscript' contains an endowment created by Tipu Sultan for the purpose of giving financial help to get the unmarried poor girls married. (35). His revenue system and trade corporation etc. we have seen, were mostly meant for the amelioration of the poorer section of the community. But unfortunately enough, all these reforms were resented by the Nair Community who believed that they were an outright encroachment of their religious observances. The failure of Tipu was that he could not feel the pulse of the society and could not make them understand that these were for their own good.

~~=====~~

---

(33) Kirk Patrick: No.423.

(34) Ibid: No. 464.

(35) Mohibbul Hasan Khan: History of Tipu Sultan, P.372.



## CHAPTER IV

### ECONOMIC CONDITION

The various measures taken by Tipu Sultan for the economic prosperity of his country and well-being of his people are admitted even by his bitterest enemies. Moor, on the basis of personal experience wrote, "when a person travelling through a strange country finds it well-cultivated, populous with industrious inhabitants; cities newly founded; commerce extending, towns increasing and everything flourishing so as to indicate happiness, he will naturally conclude it to be under a form of Government congenial to the minds of the people. This is a picture of Tippoo's country and this is our conclusion respecting its Government." (1). Another observation worth quoting is of Sir John Shore who became Governor-General in India succeeding Lord Cornwallis. "The peasantry of his dominion", wrote he, "are protected and their labours encouraged and rewarded." (2). James Mill who had no reason to exonerate Tipu Sultan concluded that his kingdom was "the best cultivated and its population the most flourishing in India." (3). But Dodwell is of opinion that though the English found signs of prosperity within his dominions, these were certainly due to no inspiration of his own. (4). Yet he also agrees that

---

(1) Moor's Narrative etc., P.201.

(2) Sir John Shore: quoted by R.C.Majumdar and others in 'the Advanced History of India', P.715.

(3) J.Mill and Wilson: History of British India, Vol.VI,P.105

(4) H.H.Dodwell: Cambridge History of British India, Vol.VI, P.105.

there was all-round prosperity and progress in the dominion of Tipu Sultan.

But historians of Kerala say that the country was absolutely destroyed (5), the gold and treasure accumulated from time immemorial were looted (6), trade and commerce registered a setback (7), and that, in short, the economy of the country was so impoverished that it took many years to repair the loss. (8). Innes writing in the year 1908, accused: "Tipu did his best to ruin the trade of South Malabar by destroying the pepper vines" (9). W.Logan (10), and Buchanan (11) held more or less the same opinion. But they do not go to the extent of our indigenous writers who blacken the period with incredible and ridiculous scandals. These historians refuse even to call the Mysorean rule as administration. Whenever they have to refer to it, they would begin with "when the Mysoreans were pillaging the country" (12), or "at the time of Tipu's tyranny" (13) etc. Thus it has become an accepted and established opinion that during the Mysorean occupation of Kerala, the economic condition of the country felt the lowest ebb.

In this Chapter an attempt has been made to show that the prevalent opinion about the economic condition of the country under the Mysoreans is a distorted and fabricated fact. On the other hand, the period witnessed all-round prosperity and economic stability, industrial development and commercial growth. The peasantry with whom direct dealings

- 
- (5) A. Sreedhara Menon: A Survey of Kerala History, P.306.
  - (6) K.M. Panicker: Op.Cit., P.530.
  - (7) Buchanan: Vol.II, P.360.
  - (8) K.M.Panicker: Op.Cit., 530.
  - (9) Innes: Malabar Gazetteer, Vol.I, P.268.
  - (10) Logan: Malabar Manual, Vol.I, P.486.
  - (11) Buchanan: Vol.II, P.360.
  - (12) History of Freedom Struggle in Kerala, P.431.
  - (13) Logan: Op.Cit., P.610.

were made, rose in status in the society by the change of agrarian relations. The oppression of landlords and the rapaciousness of the Nair gentry were removed; the cultivators received encouragement and assistance from the State for the promotion of agriculture. In short, the peasants felt plenty and happiness unprecedented in any other period of Kerala history. No doubt, the economic structure of the society was totally changed. Any change in the economic pattern will surely affect a section of the society while others will get great benefit. Which of these weigh more is the question to be looked into.

We have discussed in detail the ownership of the property in Kerala and the relation of Jenmis with the Kanam-dars. We know, before the Mysore occupation, the land of any category was not taxed. Absolute enjoyment of the right of ownership of the property with all its social and economic implications, vested upon a small section of the population. The bulk of the society was totally ignored. Only the privileged Namboodiri and Nair castes were counted practically for all purposes. The rest of the society was condemned as slaves and untouchables who had even 'atmospheric pollution' and could not, therefore, approach them beyond the limit prescribed for each caste like 'Thiyyapad' and 'Cherumaped.' (14). In such a society where human beings were looked down without any regard, the Mysoreans began their revenue settlement with the cultivators directly as adverted to above. "The tenants thus got an added dignity", writes the historian who impeaches Tipu Sultan for the same, "in the new set-up and the interests of Jenmis or land-lords were adversely affected." (15). If this were the case, it would have been

---

(14) 'Thiyyapad' means the limit a 'Thiyya' or Ezhava could approach a caste Hindu. The limit was 24 ft. for them. 'Cherumaped' was 64 ft. (C. Achutha Menon: Cochin State Manual, P.195).

(15) A. Sreedhara Menon: Op.Cit., P.305.

highly beneficial to the interests of the larger section of the community. But even in the changed circumstances, the writers do not change their feudal and caste prejudices. These are the reasons for the accusations to remain still intact.

When the State demanded land tax and made a comprehensive survey of the lands which were hitherto unknown to the 'land of Perumals', there was a hue and cry. We have seen that the burden of tax did not fall on the shoulders of the peasants and it was taken out of the patton or rent paid to the Jenni. But the Jennis on whose share the land tax was imposed had to give away a part of it to the Government. Answering to a question of the Joint Commissioners of Malabar, the Zamorin had to admit, "I know Tippoo's Jumma to be a just one all over the country and a burden neither upon me nor upon the Districts." (16). After the cession of Malabar to the English, they had collected 10 per cent more of the Jema (demand) in order to defray collection charges. "The Mysoreans never, however, included this 10 per cent", writes Logan, "in the permanent Jema as the Commissioners did" (17). Further "they made the land revenue first imposed by Tipu Sultan, a permanent situation, every square inch of land being subjected to it" (18). We know under the Mysoreans, the dry lands were exempted from taxation. The following observation of Buchanan will bring home the fact that the accusation of heavy burden of tax made the people to flee from the country, is absurd and false. "The cultivation of the arable part of the highlands", writes Buchanan, ~~is~~ "is by far the most neglected. Yet no land tax has been imposed on it, which in my opinion, clearly shows that the clamours raised

---

(16) Fgn. (Misc.) S.No. 56, Part II, P.897, Question No.3.

(17) Logan: Vol.I, PP.644-45.

(18) E.M.S. Namboodiripad: Op.Cit., P.100.

against the land tax as injurious to cultivation are groundless."(19). The only thing that did was that he did not allow the gentry to enjoy the right to kill the peasantry at their pleasure or deprive them of all their belongings. Buchanan testifies to this fact in these words: "This confirms my opinion that <sup>it</sup> is owing to these ~~disturbances~~ disturbances chiefly and not to the taxes, that the plantation in many parts of Malabar are on the decrease."(20). At the same time, instructions were issued to deal with all severity in such marauding depredations on the peasants by the jobless 'gentry' of Kerala. "It was therefore, necessary", writes Kirmni, "they (officers) should in future to the utmost of their ability prevent those pagans from doing any injury to the peasantry or poor inhabitants"(21). The conditions of the poorer section of the society before and after the Mysorean occupation, were never taken into account by any historian to make a comparative study of their economic position. If this is fairly done the clamours raised against the Mysorean system will surely die out. When Malabar was ceded to the English, the Jennia were re-instated in their respective lands. "As for the Namboodiris and other ruling families", writes E.M.S. Namboodiripad, "were given back all the lands they once owned and what is more were made full owners of these lands with no restrictions whatsoever in their relations with their tenants."(22). The net result of the change is described by one of the English Collectors of Malabar thus: "The grant of freedom to a community thus organised meant a freedom for the strong to oppress the weak; freedom for the newly created proprietor to take an ever-increasing portion of the share of the net

---

(19) Buchanan; Vol. II, P. 380.

(20) Ibid, P. 459.

(21) Kirmni; Op.Cit., P. 459.

(22) E.M.S. Namboodiripad: Kerala etc., P. 208.

produce left over after paying the Government dues. What wonder, then, that the drones in the hive have prospered and grown fat or the working bees have become famished and lean." (23). But K.M. Panicker, with a sigh of relief remarks about this change; "it was only after the Malabar Settlement of 'the Commissioners' and the introduction of the new agrarian relations, prosperity began to reign in Malabar" (24). This spells out the sectarian outlook of the historian and the reasons for his down-right condemnation of Mysorean administration. He goes on to say, "though in the period that followed (the period when the caste Hindus were made Jennia by the English), they (Nairs) regained in some measure their social importance" (25). This social importance thus gained became a cause of misery and oppression to the poor peasants. "If a tenant failed to comply with the Jennia demand", writes Nagan Ayya, "he was promptly turned out of his holding. This led to serious discontentment among the agriculturists." (26). It is a pity that these writers totally discard the other sections of the society who had gained social status and economic prosperity under the Mysoreans and who under the changed conditions became sad victims of oppression from this feudal tyrants. One important point is that the Jennia lost their right to deprive the peasants and people, of their lives and properties during the Mysorean rule. People as a whole except this privileged class were happy and prosperous. But when the pattern was reverted by the English those who had benefited were again sunk in distress and dismay. The feudal minority who gained importance gave fabricated stories of oppression and tyranny about the Mysorean rule because from their point of view they had suffered under them. Therefore, what they

---

(23) Logan: P.683.

(24) Panicker, K.M.:R Op.Cit., P.531.

(25) Ibid, P.529.

(26) Nagan Ayya: Travancore State Manual, Vol.III, P.161.

said and wrote were the expression of their condition of which they felt aggrieved and justified. But no one can justify the statements of modern writers who can very well understand the benefit of the system.

Malabar was only one of the districts of Tipu's kingdom. It is attested by all writers except the historians of Kerala that the well-being of the peasantry was the corner-stone of his agrarian policy not only in Malabar but throughout his kingdom. This was inherited as a glorious legacy from his father about whom Mirza Iqbal, the author of 'Ahwaly Hydar Naik' speaks, "if any of his revenue agents extracted more money than stipulated, he would say, 'if the amount contracted for with Government had been short, I should have exacted the deficiency and therefore if the farmer gets more I have no right to interfere between him and his good fortune.'"(27). Tipu's time was such that in addition to this, he gave all kinds of encouragements to the peasants. He gave away lands to the cultivators on attractive terms.(28). Rent free concessions and other incentives were offered generously for the promotion of cultivation. Many acres of land were brought under plough due to his persuasion and encouragement. In his letter to Cornwallis, A. Reid, the Collector of Baramahal District, made a representation to the effect that he might be allowed to adopt some of the reforms of Tipu as "they tended to the increase of cultivation and the good of ryots and as they were drawn up by people of the greatest ability and experience in his kingdom"(29). J. Mill observes that when the English advanced into the dominions of Tipu, they discovered such indications of good Government as altogether surprised them; a country

---

(27) Mirza Iqbal: Ahwaly Hydar Naik (Miles). P.502.

(28) Mohibbul Hasan Khan: Op.Cit., P.340.

(29) Baramahal Records, Vol.I, (Management) PP.8 and 22.

highly cultivated, and abounding in population; in short, a prosperity far surpassing that which any other part of India exhibited, not excepting the British dominions themselves. (30).

Tipu undertook a number of irrigation works for the advancement of agriculture. "The existence of so many ancient works" (irrigation), writes H.H. Dodwell, "was recognised as a challenge inviting honourable emulation" (31). The tanks and wells caused to be dug by Tipu throughout his kingdom are outward manifestations of his zeal to foster cultivation. His tank at Bellary even now irrigates 1170 acres of land besides an annual fishery income of Rs.600/-(32). An inscription spotted out in 1797 on a tank at Anandur speaks that it was constructed by Tipu for the purpose of irrigation. (33). There is an inscription at the entrance of Kannambadi Dam, eleven miles away from the modern Mysore City, showing that the foundation stone was laid by Tipu Sultan for the construction of a major dam. A number of wells were dug throughout Malabar. The wells of Ferok and Palghat are well-known. Since Malabar was an integral part of Mysore, all administrative reforms and economic measures undertaken in other parts of his kingdom also found place in Malabar. When a fresh investigation of revenue and survey was ordered by Tipu in 1788, Malabar too experienced the second land survey in her history. This was done village by village and all the unauthorised inam lands were resumed by the State (34). In Malabar also, all illegal possessions were deprived of and brought under the purview of taxation, that created a commotion among the affected party. Therefore, there is no

---

(30) J.Mill; History of British India, Vol.V, P.389.

(31) H.H. Dodwell: Cambridge History of India, Vol.V, P.482.

(32) Bellary District Gazetteer, PP.268-69.

(33) Robert Sewall: Historical Inscriptions of Southern India, P.310.

(34) Baramahal Records, Section I, P.153.



reason to believe that Malabar did not experience economic development, when prosperity and progress were certified by all writers in other parts of his kingdom. In short, a minority who enjoyed unlimited authority before the advent of Haider Ali was controlled and stripped off their rights which were most dangerous to the rest of the community.

As regards trade and industry, we have seen that it was this Prince alone in India who understood the trends of the European countries and strove hard to par with the commercial countries of Europe. We have taken note of the various measures adopted by Tipu Sultan in this respect. He imposed trade monopoly on essential export commodities and collected tax in kind. These were taken for the advancement of trade and industry. But the impression created by the Kerala historians is that Tipu destroyed the trade and industry of the place by cutting down the pepper vines and imposing monopoly trade etc. just like he burnt down the gardens and fields.(35). Buchanan writes that about fifty years ago, the Moplahs of this place were very rich and possessed vessels that sailed to Surat, Peca, Madras and Bengal and that the oppression of Tipu has reduced them to great poverty.(36). Buchanan visited the country in the year 1800. Malabar under Tipu was only for a period of eight years from 1783. It is clear then that Moplahs lost their riches even before Malabar came under Tipu or to that matter under Haider Ali himself, because Buchanan himself says that they were rich about fifty years ago.

The trade that existed in the Coast of Malabar, no doubt, was mostly carried on by the Muslim merchants. But with the advent of Europeans this monopoly over trade was

---

(35) Innes: Op.Cit., P.268.  
K.M.Panicker: Op.Cit., P.530.

(36) Buchanan: Vol.II, P.420.

lost and the Rajas began bargaining with the foreign traders. What actually the Pessavazhia and Eduvazhia did was to give the trade monopoly to the foreign merchants in lieu of arms and ammunitions. The commodities enumerated and required by them were collected from the cultivators by the Rajas at a low price and were delivered to the European merchants. In this regard, they vied with each other. The country or cultivator never obtained the benefit from such transactions. In all treaties, pepper and snices find top rank and the provisions to supply monopoly articles at as low a rate as possible were inserted.(37). That the rates which Tiqu paid were reasonable will be evident from the list of Calletti, regarding the price of pepper during the period from 1742 to 1793 (38). Buchanan writes, "in the year 1757, Travancore produced 11752 candies of pepper according to the calculation of Mr. Spencer. These were under the Government monopoly. Government paid only Rs.30 per candy to the cultivators.(39). By an agreement entered into between the Raja of Cherickal and the Dutch in the year 1737, the Raja agreed to supply 1000 candies of pepper to the Dutch Company at a rate of Rs.16.(40). In the year 1753, when the Treaty of Cavelikkara was signed by the Raja of Travancore with the Dutch, the former agreed to supply "a quantity of 15000000 lbs. of pepper at Rs.65, from his hereditary possession (41) and out of his conquests 2000 candies at Rs.55.(42). About this transaction, Moens recommended in the <sup>year</sup> 1781 to the Supreme Council at Batavia, "it is true that he had occasionally supplied something

---

(37) M.R.O., Tallicherry Cons., PP.60-61.

(38) D.R. No. 13, P.24.

(39) Buchanan: Vol.II, P.457.

(40) Logan: Op.Cit., P.367.

(41) Article IV of the Treaty; D.R. No.13, P.24.

(42) Article VI; Moens: PP.112 and 214.

of those 2000 candies at Cranganore at Rs.55 a candy....it would be better (to prevent irregularity) to pay him Rs.65 provided he supplies the full 3000 candies in the South and those 2000 candies nett in the North." (43). After the war with the French, the English agreed in 1749 to make peace with them on the pledge of bringing down the price of pepper and other spices for the interests of both parties. "Accordingly the French and the English factors had meanwhile likewise combined and had succeeded in reducing the price of pepper to Rs.50." (44). A number of such instances can be pointed out to establish that the monopoly price paid by all European traders was too much lower than what Tipu imposed. (45). This brings out the fact that the monopoly price of Rs.100 per candy given by Tipu was highly advantageous and beneficial to the interest of the cultivators in more than one respect. At the first instance they received Rs.100 per candy as against the prevalent practice of the Rajas who paid only much more lower price than the monopoly price of Rs.55 or Rs.65. It is certain that when they had to supply at the rate quoted above, the procurement price would be much less. As intermediaries between the cultivators and European Companies the Rajas made lucrative business. It is true that this business that was carried on at the expense of vast horde of poor cultivators was destroyed by the Mysoreans. If making the rich richer and the poor poorer is the yard-stick to measure the economic development of a country, everyone has to agree that there was prosperity before the Mysorean occupation. On the other hand if the market value was directly paid to the cultivator and the intermediaries were removed from their exploitation are not feasible for fiscal affluence, there was economic depression under the Mysoreans. Buchanan who was in

---

(43) Moens: Administration of Malabar Coast, P.114.

(44) Day: The Land of Perumals, P.133.

(45) C.R.E., Grandham Nos. 64 and 65 and also Logan's Treaties supply a number of examples.

no way favourably disposed to Tipu Sultan heard the brokers say that during the reign of Tipu, "they had a more extensive trade than at present." (46). He finally declares "the abolition of prohibition laws (i.e., monopoly price) in consequence of the overthrow of Tipu had evidently a great effect in reducing the price of pepper" (47). The monopoly price of Tipu evidently was of a high rate and what is more the cultivators received the full amount to their commodities without its falling into the pockets of intermediaries. As a result of this, cultivation obtained a great impetus and the impoverished agriculturists began to experience for the first time economic happiness.

The elaborate roads that were projected and made by Tipu Sultan in Malabar were discussed at length. But it requires a little more elucidation as it will throw some more light on the economic condition of the country. Within a period of six years from 1784 to 1790, thousands of miles of roads were made throughout Malabar. We know it requires men, money and materials. No doubt Tipu might not have impoverished the other parts of his kingdom for expending this large amount for the construction of roads in Malabar. Moreover, it was only a continuation of the work already undertaken throughout his kingdom. Therefore, the money spent for this purpose might have come surely from the income of the country. It shows the advancement of trade and agriculture. Another point that would be reckoned with is the human labour utilised for the purpose of this major scheme. The labourers and peasants of Kerala were employed in large numbers. Thus perhaps for the first time in the history of Kerala, labourers on a massive scale were employed by the State for the public undertakings. As no one accuses Tipu

---

(46) Buchanan: Vol.II, P.360.

(47) Ibid, P.538.

of administering forced labour we can safely presume that the employed were paid for their labour which was again an unknown usage in the Kerala society, for, the slaves and tenants were forced to undertake the work allotted to them. Buchanan gives an account of the ways in which they were brought and forced to do the work required. (48). Barbosa describes graphically the condition of trade in Kerala in the 16th century. He testifies that each caste had its own profession and trade. (49). In such a traditional society organised labour was perhaps first introduced by Tipu in this major work of magnitude that required thousands of labourers. Again an inevitable outcome of the facilities of quicker transport of goods and safer convenience of travel, is the prosperity of trade and thereby economic development in any country of the world. To say to the contrary that the trade and commerce were destroyed in Malabar will be a strange logic.

"The Mysorean invasion", Sreedhara Menon writes in the year 1967, "led to the ruin of many a flourishing town" (50) and thus plagiarises his more prolific predecessor K.M. Panicker. (51). Both of them say that "the gold and silver which Kerala had acquired as a result of centuries' trade contacts with the West practically disappeared from the land." (52). It is really strange that these writers go to the extent of propagating the most incredible stories that have not even an iota of truth in them. We know that Haider Ali built the strongest fort in Kerala at Palghat and garrisoned it with his army. It served as one of the nerve centres of communication. Around this fort, a large town developed with flourishing merchants and industrious

---

(48) Buchanan: Vol.II, P.370.

(49) Barbosa: A Description of etc., PP.124-128.

(50) A. Sreedhara Menon: A Survey of Kerala History, P.306.

(51) K.M. Panicker: Op.Cit., P.532.

(52) A. Sreedhara Menon: Op.Cit., P.306 and K.M.Panicker: Op.Cit., P.528.

inhabitants. The importance of the town of Palghat with its "neatest and cleanest villages", was testified by Buchanan in his 'Journey'. (53). This prospering state of Palghat was no doubt due to the Mysorean fort and their activities. In the Malabar Gazetteer, C.A.Innes, one of the bitterest critics of Tipu Sultan, has to admit, "the Rajas (of Palghat) played little part in the history of Malabar till the middle of the 18th century, when the continued aggressions of Zamorin drove them.....to seek the aid of Haider Ali, then Faujdar of Dindigal in 1756" (54). When it was 1801, the town became one of the most important centres of trade with innumerable shops and industries as was attested by Buchanan. No doubt, it was due to Mysorean efforts that the place became so important in the year 1801 since 1756, as to cause the admiration of Buchanan and others.

Another important town created by Tipu Sultan was at Feroke intended to be his Malabar Capital. Feroke, eight miles South of Calicut was never referred to by any writer nor played any part in politics till it was cleared off jungles and forests and made accessible for human habitation. Around the Capital, there arose a prosperous town with many industries and factories that remained thereafter as one of the important industrial towns of Kerala. The benefit that would accrue from the institution of a capital city in the economic life of the people can best be judged. Again, we know that a number of warehouses were established at important centres like Palghat, Mangara, Manjeri, Malappuram, Ponnani, Feroke, Calicut, Quilandy, Badagara, Mahe, Cannanore and Sultan's Battery, where the commodities were received. (55).

---

(53) Buchanan: Vol.II, PP.368-69.

(54) C.A.Innes: Malabar Gazetteer, Vol.I, P.469.

(55) Buchanan: Vol.II, P.515.

In all these places, huzur cucherries with sufficient staff were instituted. Around these trade centres, markets and populous villages and flourishing towns sprang up. These were facilitated with roads that assured safety of travel and security of trade. The name 'Sultan's Battery' to the place used even today is an eloquent evidence of the emergence of the place as an important town under Tipu Sultan. Therefore, any unbiased observer can see that the important towns of Malabar received great fillip from the Mysoreans in addition to the creation of such towns and trade centres as adverted to above.

K.M. Panicker and others say that the ports of Kerala lost their importance and the ship-building industry of Malabar was destroyed. This is also not correct. Calicut, Cannanore and Mangalore became more active in their trade and maritime commerce. In all these places, large godowns and store houses were built by Tipu. All the imports and exports of Mysore had gone through these places. Any person who looks into the map of Tipu's kingdom can easily trace out the fact that if Tipu did carry out his extensive commerce with foreign countries that could only have been done through these ports as the Mysore kingdom of Tipu had only a few other outlets to the sea that were not important as Mangalore or Calicut. It was this large scale trade that crippled the business of Tellicherry factors, the complaints of which were made by the Chief to the Governor of Bombay in his letter dated August 26, 1789.(56). A number of letters that were quoted in the preceding topic show how much importance was given to Calicut and Mangalore and how far these served as Tipu's great centres of import and export trade. Again, we understand from his commercial regulations and other letters addressed to his Deroghs of foreign factories that Tipu wanted to develop Mangalore as a first-rate ship-building centre.(57).

---

(56) Fgn.Dept., Sec.and Pol.Pro., S.No.96, PP.1849-56.

(57) For details, see the topic under 'Trade and Industries'.

For the purpose of this ship-yard, he sought to bring down ship-wrights from Muscat and Jeddha, the relevant records of this were quoted in the topic 'trade and industries'. The monopoly on teakwood was imposed for the use of ship-building. Tipu directed his officers "the wood, iron, rope and other articles which may be required in the construction of the ships ordered to be built are to be bought (from the countries adjacent to the docks) and the workmen of every description (employed in the service) must be paid with the utmost regularity and the ships be completed with all possible despatch." (58).

Kallai, only three miles South of Calicut, which has become the second important centre in the world for timber trade was the creation of Tipu Sultan. No one can deny the fact that the place retains even now the second rank in the timber market of the world. When we are proud of this state of Kallai in the world market, we forget its past history and the hands that worked for its elevation. Even if we refuse to acknowledge this fact, it will be sheer ingratitude to say that the towns with their trade were destroyed by Tipu who in fact was the creator of a number of towns and industries in addition to the stimulus given to the existing ones.

Another equally strange and illogical statement is that the gold that accumulated for centuries by foreign trade disappeared from this country. With the advent of Portuguese in the closing years of 16th century, the monopoly of trade slipped away from the hands of Arabs and Muslims into the hands of foreign merchants. The economic condition of the Malabar Coast at the close of Portuguese period is summed up by K.N.Panicker himself in these words: "the direct commercial contact between India and European countries shattered with their activities. In its stead, the trade monopoly of

---

(58) Kirk Patrick: Appendix E, XXXVII.



European Companies on Indian trade was imposed. It helped only to squeeze out the treasure of India for the good of European countries." (59). The period that followed witnessed the feudal chieftains and petty princes of Kerala vying with each other to obtain the support of these foreign traders to fight against their own brother-rulers by conferring upon them the most attractive terms of trade monopoly in lieu of arms and ammunitions, not for gold or silver as it is made out by K.M. Panicker and others. "A candy of pepper for every musket you let me have", was the demand made by Marthanta Varma to the Anjengo factors in 1744. (60). By the middle of the 18th century all the rulers of Kerala found themselves in pecuniary troubles, especially the Zamorin of Calicut, the most powerful Raja of Malabar on the wake of the Mysorean invasion. Attempts were made in the preceding Chapters to show how bankrupt was the Zamorin who sought shelter in committing suicide when he was compelled to fulfil his promise of war indemnity paying cash down. Many such instances of ~~his~~ his pauperism are brought out by Hoens, the then Dutch Governor in his 'Memorandum on the Administration of the Malabar Coast' and Caillaud in his 'Introduction' to the 'Malabar and the Dutch.' (61). No contemporary observer nor even the hostile English historians say that either Haider Ali or Tipu Sultan returned to Mysore laden with treasures of gold and silver plundered or obtained from Malabar.

At the same time by the commercial activities and agrarian reforms, the economic condition of the country and her people marked a great progress. Writing about the economic condition of Malabar at the close of the 18th century,

---

(59) K.M. Panicker: Op.Cit., P.244.

(60) Anjengo Manuscript Diary of 1744 - M.R.O.

(61) Hoens: 'Memorandum' etc.P.133; and Caillaud, P.21.

K.M. Panicker who wrote about the ruin of trade and towns, contradicts himself unconsciously thus, "Eighteenth century was a period in Kerala that scored conspicuous and definite improvement in many aspects of life. The trade and commerce of the country prospered very much and established a desirable status in Kerala in the 18th century." (62). In fact, this speaks out the real state of affairs. The country as a whole benefited under the Mysoreans. There was all-round happiness and plenty in the country. The peasants and cultivators enjoyed unprecedented economic stability and security of life and property. The scope of employment enlarged. The system of wages for labour registered a novel impetus in the status of poorer classes in the society. The procurement of monopoly articles directly from the cultivators paying cash down improved their economy. In all transactions a certainty and definiteness were experienced by the people. The extensive trade activities and institution of markets and ware-houses again helped economic advancement. These helped the growth of many towns and cities. In short, the Mysore rule of Kerala was the most important period of her economic development and commercial activities.

\*\*\*\*\*

---

(62) K.M. Panicker: Op.Cit., P.414.

## CHAPTER V

### RELIGIOUS POLICY OF TIPU SULTAN

As the role of a social and economic reformer assumed by Tipu Sultan was the major cause of unjust allegations of forcible conversion and religious bigotry, his religious policy should be studied with reference to his social and economic reforms. All his measures that were aimed at the amelioration of the people under him affected the social order of Malabar with its strange customs of marriage and inheritance, dress and manners already alluded to in the preceding Chapters. The people who were not prepared to change their unsophisticated habits considered these reforms as an out-right encroachment on their individual freedom of faith and caste observations. But they were unaware then that the social and economic measures taken by Tipu Sultan in Malabar were only the continuation of the general policy followed in the whole of his kingdom. No doubt, the majority of his Malayalee subjects also prospered to an appreciable degree as a result of these measures. But the Nairs and Namboodiris who together comprised one-fifth of the total population of Malabar (1), were adversely affected by these administrative innovations. As a result of this, even though the accusations of forcible conversions and temple destructions are dying out in other

---

(1) Buchanan: Vol.II, P.355.

parts of India, thanks to the labours of many scholars who brought out innumerable evidences to the contrary, the position remains the same in Kerala. In fact, almost all the stories of religious fanaticism about Tipu Sultan had their origin in Malabar. Therefore, this matter requires careful study and investigation.

Let us, first of all, see what are the sources on which these false allegations were built and what are the nature and authenticity of these sources. Writing history or keeping records was seldom observed by the Princes of Kerala.

"It is very doubtful", writes Puthiezath Raman Menon, "that no other country would be remaining in any other part of the world with so complicated, so inconsistent and so legendary a history as that of Kerala." (2). Thus Joint Commissioners of Malabar reported, "there is no date to the copy of Cochin treaty furnished by Powney, so as to ascertain when it was executed." (3) "I have received your letter", wrote John Hutchinson of Anjengo settlement on June 13, 1796 to the Raja of Cochin, "without date or signature, which I request in future may not be omitted in order to avoid confusion." (4). But the practice was continued in spite of repeated requests and that in the year 1800 the Governor of Bombay admonished the Raja for the same. (5).

"Neither the date nor your signature is affixed to these letters", observed Jonathan Duncan of the Bombay Government and required the Raja to discontinue this practice. (6). It was only in the 19th century that some sort of records began to exist

---

(2) Puthiezath Raman Menon: History and Research (Article): History on the March, p.189.

(3) Fgn. (Misc.) S.No. 56, Part II, p.687.

(4) L. No. VIII, No. 168, p.924, John Hutchinson to the Raja of Cochin.

(5) Ibid, No. 180, p.274, John Duncan to the Raja of Cochin.

(6) Ibid, p.271.

relating to political and administrative affairs. Therefore, to construct a history of Mysore rule in Kerala, all historians relied on the writing of English historians.

Before the scholars of Kerala began to work on her history, a number of books were written by the English and the venom spitted out by the English authors of Manuals and Gazetteers became the basis of all history in Kerala. Following in the footsteps of British historians, the writers of Kerala at the same time did not forget to add their caste prejudices to the stories of religious persecutions and cruelties described by their English predecessors. Thus surprisingly, the tales of large scale conversions and demolition of temples are circulated even now with unabated fury by the Kerala historians. The reason is not far to seek. We have seen that the political, social and economic reforms administered of Tipu Sultan in Malabar, revolutionised the political set up, social structure and economic pattern of Kerala Society. All these reforms affected the privileged class in the society.

When the land survey by Tipu had been carried out and land tax imposed in opposition to the usages of the country, the Namboodiri landlords felt it as a preliminary step to subvert their caste rules in which they were held in divine esteem and no one questioning the right of property. Therefore, they cashed their lands with the Moplahs and others who longed to possess lands and left the place for Travancore. The Raja of Travancore who was styled as 'Dharma Raja' honoured them with shelter, as these Jemias were only few in number and were loaded with the treasures of the country. This is evident from the report of Malabar Joint Commissioners who assessed the position of the country under the Mysoreans by questions asked from the persons proficient. One such question was, "In what year did the Jemmakar run away?"

Answer: "In 964 M.E.\*  
1788/89 A.D. all the Jenmakars ran away and as to their not attending on Arshed Beg Khan's time; the cause was that in this country the principal Jenmakars are Namboory Brahmins who do or did not come into the cuchery" (7), which they thought implied the degradation of their caste. But the position of Nairs was pitiable. They were numerous and "were born soldiers" (8), who did not know any other profession than soldiery. It is the soldier caste that would be worst hit when ~~the~~ and where there is an invasion. In this process, they had to fight against the Mysoreans and met disastrous defeat at their hands. With the disappearance of feudatory principalities to which they were attached, the Nairs lost their position or pre-eminence in the body politic of the State. They were deprived also of their unbridled right 'to kill and be killed' as professional soldiers. At the same time, they could not join the military service of the Mysoreans as it would be a blasphemy to their faith and disservice to their caste. When the political integration of the country thus dispossessed them with their profession, the economic and social measures that followed the unification of the country drove them to forests and mountains as they could not bear the rude shock caused by these reforms.

Another rude shock that struck the feudal structure of the society was the social reforms of Tipu Sultan. The prevailing system of marriage and inheritance; dress and manners common among the community have already been discussed. Tipu,

---

\*M.E. = Malayalam Era, which is supposed to have started with the last Cheraman Perumal who became a convert to Islam and left for Mecca in the year 825-26 A.D.

(7) Fgn. (Misc.) S.No. 56, Part I, P.150.

(8) Buchanan: Vol.II, P.389.

therefore, decreed to the people in general and Nairs in particular to dress up decently so as to cover up all parts of their body and to stop the shameful practice of polyandry. But as these were the religious and caste observances, the Nair community as a whole felt that Tipu was indirectly hinting them to change their caste and become Mussalmans, because covering the upper part of the body was considered as a habit of Muslims. "The women of the noblest caste in India", writes Clarke in his 'Life of Willington' meaning the Nair women of Kerala, were required thus by Tipu Sultan, "to adopt the Muhammedan custom of covering their bosoms." (9). When the Nairs smelt a rat in this direction and were panick-stricken, the evil genius of English machinations invented a proclamation in the name of Tipu Sultan which alleged to have issued to the Nairs of Kerala in the years 1789-90 and used as the most important weapon of his critics to show his policy of religious persecution. It runs as follows:- "From the period of conquest until this day, during the twenty-four years, you have been a turbulent and refractory people and in the wars waged during your rainy season you have caused numbers of our warriors to taste the draught of martyrdom. Be it so. What is past is past. Hereafter you must proceed in an opposite manner, dwell quietly and pay your dues like good subjects; and since it is a practice with you for one woman to associate with ten men and you leave your mothers and sisters unconstrained in their obscene practices and are thence all born in adultery and are more shameless in your connexions than the beasts of the field; I hereby require you to forsake these sinful practices and live like the rest of mankind. And if you are disobedient to these commands, I have made repeated

---

(9) Quoted in the Travancore State Manual by Nagam Ayya.

vows to honour the whole of you with Islam and to march all the chief persons to the seat of Government." (10).

It seems that this proclamation is an inventory of the evil genius of the English historian Col. Wilks. Kirmani and other Muslim historians of Tipu who always try to portray him as 'the Champion of Islam' do not mention of such an edict, which they would have delightfully done if it had been proclaimed. Van Angelbeck, the then Portuguese Governor of Malabar did not hear anything of the kind. The Tellicherry Factors neither record this in their Diary nor mention the same in any of their correspondence. After the fall of Seringapatam, Tipu's library and manuscripts were taken by the Officers of the Company. On the basis of the collection, Kirk Patrick and Beaston published their books. But this proclamation is neither in 'The Select letters of Tippoo Sultan', nor in the 'Origin and Conduct of War with Tippoo Sultan'. It is interesting to note that in the 'Reports of the Malabar Commissioners', who were very eager to put questions of vile nature, to their informants, they do not put any question regarding this proclamation. If such a decree was issued in the years 1789-90, at least the 'Joint Commissioners' who started their work immediately after the cession of Malabar by Tipu in the year 1792 would have enquired of it to assess the effects and consequences of such a famous proclamation. Buchanan who visited the place did not report any such proclamation. Even the claim of Wilks that the 'Proclamation' is in 'the Memoirs of Tippoo Sultan' is also not correct. Though the unknown author speaks much about the religious atrocities, the edict he mentions is a different one. He speaks "it is probably about this time, that he issued an edict for the destruction of all the Hindu temples in his dominions" (11). Further, it is alleged by Colonel Wilks and

---

(10) Wilks: Historical Sketches etc., Vol. II, P. 120.

(11) Memoirs of Tippoo Sultan (Miles), ~~Vol~~ P. 270.



by other historians who follow him that Tipu had issued circular orders to all the different detachments of his troops to employ every means for the conversion of the Hindus. It is again reported that a copy of such an order was discovered from Palghat Fort after its capture in 1790 which ran as follows: "It directed that every being in the district, without distinction, should be honoured with Islam, that the houses of such as fled to avoid the honour should be burnt, that they should be traced to their lurking places and that all means of truth and falsehood, fraud or force, should be employed to effect their universal conversion." (12). This should be read along with the other two edicts referred to above. Thus the picture of whole-sale conversion and total destruction of all temples is complete. It is no wonder then that those who have manipulated the above baseless charges would certainly create any number of edicts. Considering that the instructions were given to all detachments containing Hindus and Christians to destroy temples and to use force for conversion and also considering that the Muslims formed only nine per cent of the population in the whole of Tipu's Kingdom, these allegations can bluntly be rejected as a prima facie falsehood. No ruler whether prudent or not, will ever think of issuing orders to his army to act contrary to their religious belief. If Tipu wanted to use the instrument of military force for conversions, he would have first converted his troops.

Even if we accept the proclamation of Tipu to the Nairs of Kerala as genuine, there is nothing in it to prove that he was a religious bigot. He wanted them to cast off

---

(12) Wilks: Historical Sketches etc., Vol.II, P.132 (Foot-note). Logan: Vol.I, P.451.

their savage practices of polyandry and mode of dress. We have argued that no such proclamation could have been issued by Tipu Sultan. If at all such a proclamation was made, it would be to the effect of requiring them to stop the practice of Polyandry and half-nakedness. Tipu might have compelled them to cover the upper part of the body which was taken as an attempt of converting them to Islam. The proclamation, if so made, might be tampered with by the later historians who twisted the wordings to suit their propagation of religious bigotry. At the first instance, we have to bear in mind that the proclamation might have issued (if it was made) in Malayalam language, as it was the practice of Tipu that can be evidenced in his letter to the Governor of Pondichery requiring him to send letters in Malabar language with the merchants who might be deputed by him for procuring commodities from Malabar.(13). The only threat he might have possibly made was to bear the consequences if they did not dress up decently as against exposing their bosoms naked. He might have ~~he~~ even offered them dress to make shirts and jackets. It is a common usage throughout Kerala even to the present day to denote to the conversion to Islam to say 'put on shirt' ('kuppayamiduka' in Malayalam). When Tipu warned them that if at their own they did not mind covering their bosom, he would make them put on shirts or jackets, or 'kuppayam.' In fact, the word 'Kuppayamiduka' has become a term of deep-rooted common expression that if any one renders it into any other language to mean conversion to Islam, no one will repudiate it as an irregular rendering. Therefore, the proclamation might certainly be of a different nature tending to require them to put on shirts and jackets. As wearing shirts and jackets is a custom of Muslims and the word 'kuppayamiduka' has a different meaning, the Nairs took it

---

(13) Kirk Patrick:

for granted that Tipu wanted to convert them into Islam. We have seen how the historians had manipulated two edicts in the name of Haider Ali and how many historical literature of unknown origin including edicts have come out accusing Tipu of his religious fanaticism. Therefore, it is not out of place to presume that if at all a proclamation was made, it underwent certain adjustments to exploit the popular usage of the word 'kuppayamiduka'.

Another point that should be reckoned with is that all these allegations came out only after Tipu had imposed prohibition on trade in his kingdom. The Company was worse hit by this measure. With this began their war preparations against Tipu. Cornwallis wrote to the Political Department "we should have reason to apprehend that we were on the eve of a rupture with Tippoo..."(14). It was the part of Company's war preparations to incite communal feeling of Indian princes for their good. In his letter to Raghujee Bonslea, Cornwallis accuses Tipu for his religious bigotry and asks the Maratta prince to rally with the English to fight against "a man who is the enemy of all mankind, and whose heart is bent on the destruction of every sect as well Hindoo as every other"(15). This was continued to such a degree that the Marattas demanded a clause to be included in the Treaty of Seringapatam when John Kennaway was negotiating with the vakeels of Tipu on peace terms. "The Maratta vakeels acquainted me", writes Kennaway, "that an article should be inserted to prevent Tippoo from continuing the practice of circumcising Hindoos. I asked them what the contents were....they said that they did not know but would enquire and inform me."(16).

---

(14) Egn.Pol.Pro., 6 Jan.- 26 Feb., 1790, S.No.2, Jan.6, P.75.

(15) Ibid, Sec.Cons. No5, March 10, 1790.

(16) Egn.(Misc.), Vol.54, 1792, PP.123-24.

This shows that the news of forcible conversion was so cleverly instilled in the minds of Hindu rulers to enlist ~~their~~ their support, but found it impossible to concede to the demand of Marattas as there was no concrete evidence. This was the case with Kerala also. The Nairs who lost their political and economic pre-eminence in the society who were again required to shelve off their old practices of polyandry and half-nakedness were justified to an extent in thinking that all of them were going to be converted to Islam. We can appreciate the position taken by them when all their usages and practices which had the sanction and sanctity of religion and caste were shook off. The failure of the religious policy of Tipu Sultan was that he could not reconcile the people with his reforms as they were far advanced of the time.

Thus, the Nair nobility of Kerala were affected very much by the political, social and economic reforms. Some of them had left the country to take refuge in Travancore (17), some of them came under the protection of the English Company (18), and "those who could not escape, took refuge in the forests" (19) from "whence they began occasional depredations and predatory wars." (20). Imagine the mental agony of such people who were by circumstances forced to such extremity and imagine what would have been the stories of tyranny told by them day in and day out. Further, it must be taken into account that by the Caste rules, Namboodiris and Nairs were alone allowed to learn and propagate. (21). Thus, as they were the only privileged custodians of language and learning what

---

(17) Buchanan: Vol.II, P.190.

(18) Fgn.(Misc.) S.No. 56, Part I, P.88.

(19) Buchanan: Vol.II, P.190.

(20) P.R.C., No. 103, P.124.

(21) L.K. Ananda Krishna Iyyer: Cochin: Tribes and Castes, pp.339-40.

they said and wrote became a common expression of the state of affair in Kerala about Mysore rule. Those who had run away from the country might have maliciously magnified the stories at least to justify their flight. Thus, the Namboodiri whose pronouncements are 'divine commands' and "his person as holy", were not distrusted by others who heard his exaggerated and false versions for the cause of his flight. Thus the source of information was not reliable in the least.

This will be quite clear when we look into the nature of the source of their information. "On July 14, 1768", writes Logan, "a Brahmin who was required to convey the message refused to go, and assigned as his reason that there was ' a report prevailing that the Nabob had issued orders for all the Brahmins on the Coast to be siezed, and sent ~~ke~~ up to Seringapatam."(22). This report was really circulated by the Tellichery factors. The report of the Chief of Tellichery to this effect was "in July 1788, the circumcision of many Brahmins took place"(23), which was made more palatable by the author of Malabar Manual. Again, Wilks wrote, "it was at Kuttippuram 2000 Nairs with their families were converted"(24). Logan completes the picture in the following way: "The unhappy cantives gave a forced assent and on the next day the rite of circumcision was performed on all the males, every individual of both sexes being compelled to close the ceremony by eating beaf."(25). The source of this news also was from the Chief of Tellichery who wrote, "it was now many of the Nairs were cut off, circumcised or obliged to fly to the jungle."(26).

---

(22) Logan: Malabar Manual, Vol.I, PP.448-49.

(23) Fgn.(Misc.) S.No. 56, Part I, P.89.

(24) Wilks: Historical Sketches, Vol.II, P.136.

(25) Logan: Op.Cit., P.451.

(26) Fgn.(Misc.) S.No.56, Part I, P.90.

Though he does not mention the number of Nairs who were circumcised, Wilks and Logan do not fail to remember the exact number of them! Here, we have to recall that it was to this Chief, Tipu had written "you are not a good man, but whether good or bad, what I can say! I have many lakhs of people like you in my service and do have the Company.....From this time forward, you must not write to me for anything of business, for if you write to me, I shall not send any answer. You must understand it." (27). His information was at the same time from a Brahmin who refused to go as a messenger for fear of circumcision of which he on his turn heard from others. About the conversions he reported were received from those who came under his protection in fear of conversion! Thus the sources and their nature are most incredible and hearsay. Other historians swallowed them without scrutiny.

Another grave charge of mass conversion is reported from the Coorg country where it is rumoured that nearly 70000 were circumcised and made Mussalmans. This story also originated from the Tellichery factors. On December 31, 1789, L. Avvon of Tellichery factory wrote to C.W.Malet that Tipu was in the suburb of Tellichery to "marry his son to the daughter of Bullie Bebbhy, widow of the late Aly Raja, at the celebration of which marriage 40,000 captives, unhappy families of the Coorg country and other parts of the Malabar Coast are to be circumcised." (28). Same was endorsed by Cornwallis in his letter to Malet who was the Resident of the Maratta Court. (29). It is clear that this news of religious atrocity of Tipu was for the consumption of Marattas and stir them against the

---

(27) P.R.C. No. 37 A, P.37.

(28) Ibid, No. 51, P.43.

(29) Fgn.Mol. Pro., Feb.5, 1790. Cons.No.14, Cornwallis to Malet, December 31, 1789, PP.255-56.

Mysore ruler. When these non-Muslim sources wrote such maligned falsehood, the Muslim chroniclers also in their attempt to glorify their hero after their heart as the 'Champion of Islam made similar foolish utterances that had become trump cards in the hands of hostile historians. "When the Sultan arrived at Seringapatam", wrote Kirmani thus, "the prisoners taken in the country of Coorg who had all been made Mussalmans and styled Ahamedis" (30). Several such instances were brought out with their incredibility by Prof. Mohibbul Hasan Khan in his work on Tipu Sultan. (31). The students of history who are very familiar of the oriental diction of expression and style of writing will not be surprised when we totally reject it on the plea that it was only made to create a halo of divinity on the person of Tipu Sultan. Those who know the writings of the historians of Chananavide and Ghorian Dynasties of India and in a later period of Barani, Isami, and Badaoni will not take the statement of Kirmani in its literal sense.

When the reforms of Tipu were introduced, the landed aristocracy and the privileged few raised the flag of disobedience but were silenced through suppression. The fact that even the Muslim Kurukkal rose in revolt (32), shows that the agrarian reforms affected the landed aristocracy very much of which Buchanan testifies, "they were all reduced to comparative poverty." (33). But these were taken as religious persecutions. This shows that the rich who were the oppressors of the poor were bridled and brought under the law of the country for the common weal. In this respect the rich

---

(30) Kirmani: History of Tipu Sultan (Miles), PP.139.

(31) Mohibbul Hasan Khan: History of Tipu Sultan, PP.359-61.

(32) Kirk Patrick: CCXC III, P.316.

(33) Buchanan; Vol.II, P.65.

irrespective of his caste and religion was put in test. But the majority of landlords were non-Muslims as the population itself contained them more than 75 per cent. It was, therefore, the economic and social reforms caused the accusations of religious bigotry.

If Tipu wanted the conversion of his prisoners and his subjects, he could have done it on many favourable occasions. In his letter to Ghulam Ali Khan and Ali Reza, who were in the camp of Cornwallis, Tipu wrote, "several people belonging to the Rajah of Travancore were made prisoners. I gave each of them a Rupee and a cloth and released them before the peace was concluded." (34). Again, a *Purwana* from Tipu Sultan to the Pettah of Coorg in the same period of the alleged conversions at Coorg and Malabar, will throw much light on the religious policy of Tipu Sultan. It was written on May 21, 1791. "It is well-known to me that you have for a long period experienced much trouble in your country and under this consideration, I forgive everything which has happened. You may now fulfil your several duties as subjects and observe all the customs of your religion agreeably to ancient practices and whatever you formerly paid to your own Rajas, the same I expect, you will now pay to the Sircar." (35). This was the policy pursued throughout his kingdom.

Tipu, it is alleged, did not spare Christians also. The author of the 'Memoirs of Tippoo Sultan' writes, "he (Tipu) also said to have carried away from the province of Malabar 700000 Christians and to have made Muhammedans of 100,000 Hindus" (36). This is a clear specimen to show the

---

(34) P.R.C., No. 465, P.633.

(35) Ibid, No. 313, PP.421-22.

(36) Memoirs of Tippoo Sultan, P.270.



incredible nature of all allegations. The 'Joint Commissioners of Malabar' on the 'Summary account of the Christians obtained from Major Dow, calculates "at present there are 26 churches and about 20000 souls under the cure of the Bishop of Verapoly. The number of native Malabar Christians on the whole of Malabar Coast, is for more than two hundred thousand souls of which about 90000 are settled in the Travancore territory" (37). Even according to the census of 1921, the number of Christians in Malabar do not exceed 58567. (38) Buchanan who interviewed the religious head of the Christians testifies that their number was on the increase even during the time of Mysorean rule, and did not hear anything of this kind. (39). These will reveal the falsehood of the story. Another instance is cited by Bartolomaeu, who was in the Verapoly Seminary during the time of the attack of Tipu on Travancore Lines. He wrote, "naked Christians and Hindus were dragged to pieces, tied to the feet of elephants. All churches and temples were destroyed. Christians and Pagan women were forcibly married to Muhammedans" (40). This information he obtained was from those who had run away from the suburbs of Travancore Lines when it fell into the hands of Mysorean army. Thus it is also a hearsay. But he had his personal knowledge of what had happened at Verapoly where he was, about which with a sigh of relief he writes, "but by the favour of God and by the grace of our patron apostle ~~Quisepa~~ Ouseph, our church and monasteries were not burnt down. They were neither desecrated nor became victims of Sultan's wrath. (41). Thus his own personal experience speaks quite contrary to what

---

(37) Fgn. (Misc.) S.No. 56, Part I, P.9.

(38) Innes: Vol.II, Appendix V, PP. 31 and 36.

(39) Buchanan: Vol.II, P.351.

(40) Voyage to East Indies (Froster's translation), PP.141-42.

(41) Ibid.

he heard from others. In fact, this is the nature of all stories of forcible conversions and desecration of centres of worship.

Not a specific instance can be pointed out to show that any person was persecuted only because he was not a Muslim nor any particular temple or church can be named out as a concrete evidence of its demolition by the Mysoreans. In spite of the unending allegations of religious bigotry and destruction of temples and churches that were current in the talk, every writer has to admit that matters that were personally noticed or known to him tell a different tale. After enumerating the devastation made by Tipu elsewhere, of which he had no concrete evidence, the author of 'Sakthan Tampuran' writes on the strength of temple records, "it is evident that Tipu did not commit any harm or destruction in the Cochin territory when he entered in the country and afterwards encamped at Trichur." (42). The observation of the author of Cochin State Manual basing his authority on the Temple records of Trichur, will also throw a flood of light on this issue. He says that when the Mysore army was on its march to Trichur, the priest of great temple and the Swamiyars of the Matts in that town locked up the sacred building and fled to Chemmamangalam for refuge and that when the priests and Swamiyars returned after Sardar Khan's departure, they found everything in tact. The temple Chronicler notes with considerable surprise that not only the places of the worship not pillaged or defiled as was anticipated, but not a single door was found unlocked by the enemy. (43). Thus the news that was prevalent and the actual things witnessed marked just opposite. In the personal experience of any one, no atrocity was committed. But the stories of cruelties and persecutions were

---

(42) Puttezhath Raman Menon: Sakthan Tampuran, P.136.

(43) C.Achutha Menon: Cochin State Manual, P.122.

let loose by his enemies with a view to enlist the support of the local Rajas and also to create a feeling of terror about the ruler of Mysore.

It is a well-known fact that a number of Tipu's officers not only in Mysore but also in Malabar were Hindus. Ananda Rao was the envoy sent by Haider Ali to appraise the political conditions of Malabar before his conquest.(44). Madanna and afterwards Sreenivas Rao were the Civil Governors of Malabar. Ram Linga Pillai was one of the important Sirestadars of Tipu who helped Mir Ibrahim to carry out his revenue reforms. Most of his revenue collectors and writers were Hindus.(45). Jemea, of whom Malabar Commissioners say, "a Brahmin of a very respectable character", was employed as an officer under Tipu.(46). Neanji Pillai and Oudhoot Rao were important revenue officers.(47). This was his general policy. We know that apart from his Diwan and Peshkar, a large number of Hindus held high posts both in the army and the civil service.(48). His relation with Sringeri Mutt is proverbial. In the Central Record Office, Ernakulam, there is a curious document of an eye-witness' report about the Fourth Anglo-Mysore War. Tipu knowing that he was passing through the last days of his life went to the Mutt, barefooted and received blessings from the 'Jagathguru' as he addressed the Chief Priest. It is reported that the Guru gave a letter to the Paratta Chief requiring him to help Tipu instead of a party with the English.(49). Even at the risk of displeasing

---

(44) Tellicherry Factory Diary - Chief to the Governor of Bombay, Nov., 14, 1764; Cons.No.2, Nov.8, 1764.

(45) Fgn.(Misc.) S.No. 56, P.155.

(46) Ibid, S.No. 59, Para.39, P.43.

(47) Ibid, Para. 47, P.47.

(48) For details refer to 'the History of Tipu Sultan', PP.354-63.

(49) L. No. VII, 1st Series, PP.481-83.

Tipu's enemies, the divine priesthood of Sringeri showered on him blessings and extended the help. This shows the cordial relation of Tipu with the divine priesthood. If he was a religious fanatic as made out by historians, it was an appropriate time for the Chief Priest to show his discontent.

As we are concerned only with Kerala, it will be superfluous to enumerate what he had done in other parts of his country. Suffice it to say that the policy pursued in other parts of his kingdom found place in Malabar also. A number of religious heads and scholars of Kerala were recipients of Tipu's gifts of lands and cash. The 'Satrams' where religious learning were imparted, received his financial help. All the known temples of Malabar obtained from him lavish presents in money and rent-free lands. The Guruvayoor Temple, the most esteemed of all temples of Kerala, even to the present day was to benefit most. Apart from the rent-free lands, this temple received 8000 pagodas in cash annually for the expense of its ceremonies. The money was regularly paid in each year by Tipu's agent Chandanaparambil Aurasooty (Hydros Kutty) Mooppan of Manathala. Even now the Hindus of this locality frequent the tomb of Aurasooty Mooppan for thanks giving. This amount was reduced to 5000 pagodas by the English. Afterwards, that was also stopped in lieu of an assignment of some property to the temple. (50). Another most important document which will help us judging his religious policy in Malabar and belie the allegations of forcible conversions and temple destructions of Kerala is traced out from the Inam Registers of the Kozhikode Collectorate. The following is a list of rent-free lands given by Tipu Sultan to various temples, satrams and divine heads

---

(50) A.V.Moidutty: Guruvayoor, Mathrubhoomi Daily, dated February 7, 1964.

of Kerala entered in this Register:- (51).

Donee.	Location.	Extent of land in acres.
1. Mannur <u>Kshetram</u> *	Chelambra Amsom, Ernad Taluk	X 70.42 wet land X 3.29 garden land
2. Tiruvanchikulam Siva <u>Kshetram</u> *	Vailattur Amsom, Ponnani Taluk	X 208.82 W.L. X 3.29 G.L.
3. Guruvayur <u>Kshetram</u> *	Guruvayoor Amsom, Ponnani Taluk	X 46.02 W.L. X 458.32 G.L.
4. Trikkantiyur Vettakkorumakan- kavu <u>Kshetram</u> *	Kasba Amsom, Calicut Taluk	X 122.70 W.L. X 73.36 G.L.
5. Kattumadathil Srikumaran, Namboodiripad.	Kadikad Amsom, Ponnani Taluk	X 27.97 W.L. X 6.91 G.L.
6. Trikkandiyur Samoocham <u>Kshetram</u> *	Trikkandiyur Amsom, Ponnani Taluk	X 20.63 W.L. X 0.41 G.L. X
7. Naduvil Madathil <del>xxx</del> Tirumombu	Trichur Cochin.	X 40.26 W.L. X 22.13 G.L. X 4.17 Dryland.

\*Kshetram means temple.

In spite of all these, allegations of religious excess other are still current in Kerala for which there are no reasons than the following: In the first instance, the organised propaganda of the English to exploit the religious susceptibilities of the people. Next the genuine feeling of the Namboodiris and Nairs who were affected by the reforms adhered to above. Another point is that the authors of Kerala history so far written belong to successors of that community who had suffered most under Tipu Sultan and whose caste prejudices

(51) Kozhikode Collectorate Inam Registers, five folio volumes.

have not receded to any appreciable degree. Yet another reason that precipitated local apprehension was that the mopilahs who were suppressed by the local Rajas, asserted their rights with the advent of Mysoreans.(52). They might have harassed the Nair rebels and helped the Mysoreans to trace out their hiding places. The relation between the Nairs and Mopilahs even before the advent of Mysoreans embittered to such a degree that an organised massacre of Muslims was conducted by the local Rajas and chieftains.(53). This enmical state of affairs is clearly brought out by the Joint Commissioners of Malabar in their Report in 1793 (54). They wrote, "the state of the above native society can be admitted considering the extreme rancour and enmity that a series of wars and mutual persecutions have kindled between them."(55). When under the Mysoreans, the Nairs as rebels and Mopilahs as loyal subjects might have certainly aggravated the grievance of Nair rebels who to their belief considered it as religious bigotry. Buchanan says that at Ponnani some cultured Mopilahs expressed to him that they hated the Nair ascendancy as it were detrimental to their interest.(56). He continues to say, "left to their own strength, the Mopilahs would very soon force them (Nairs) to retire into the woods and mountains to which they were confined when the English arrived."(57). This is corroborated again in the Proceedings of the Joint Malabar Commissioners meeting of January 31, 1793. Disapproving the use of the Company's force against the Mopilahs by the Zamorin and directing not to avail the English force for this task, they

---

(52) Fgn.(Misc.) S.No. 56, Part II, P.824.

(53) H.M.D.L.T. - 'History of Hyder Shah' etc., pp.61-63.

(54) Fgn.(Misc.) S.No. 56, Part II, P. Voucher No.34, P.831.

(55) Ibid, pp.763-64.

(56) Buchanan: Vol.II, P.564.

(57) Ibid: P.565.

remarked, "this will again soon make them feel their own weakness and inability to collect from the Mopilahs without our aid and lead more naturally than perhaps any other mode to transferring the collections of the Mopilah countries wholly to the Company which from all hands we learn is the only effectual way to reconcile those people to our Government to which they appear at present rather indisposed by the grievances they suffered from the delegation of our authority to their ancient enemies - the Nairs" (58).

Thus the Mopilahs might have taken revenge against the Nairs utilising the opportunity as loyal subjects of Mysoreans. There is every reason to believe that the Nairs might have been saved from the wrath of the Mopilahs by the vigilance of the Officers of Tipu. No doubt the grievance of the vanquished princes and Nair nobles increased with the regaining of the lost freedom of Mopilahs under the Mysoreans. This was not any fault of Mysorean policy. But it failed not because of any religious intolerance but because of the local bickerings and politics.

=====

---

(58) Fgn. (Misc.) S.No. 56, Part II, P.845.

## CHAPTER VI

### C O N C L U S I O N

#### (a) Effects and consequences of Tipu's reforms.

The political organisation based on the unchecked sovereignty of petty principalities; the social organisation founded on rigid caste rules in which the Namboodiris and the Nairs alone wielded power; the economic organisation built upon the bedrock of the decadent feudal theories in which also caste rules predominated; and the religious observances imbedded in the blind faith and following of the pronouncements of the Namboodiris as the custodians of religious tenets - these were the characteristics of Medievalism in Kerala. The effects of the revolutionary reforms of Tipu Sultan can be appreciated only if we recall to our memory these medieval features of Kerala society. The importance of the Mysorean occupation of Kerala for more than 25 years, is that it was an era of transition from the Medieval to the Modern. All the medieval institutions with their peculiar characteristics received a rude shock and were toppled down, never to stage a come back. Thus the medieval feudal system of Malabar in which the country was parcelled out into petty but sovereign principalities that ushered in anarchy owing to their mutual jealousies and wars



came to an end with the Mysorean occupation. "The whole of Malabar", writes Prof. P.K.K.Menon, "came to be organised under one political control, land revenue administration was thoroughly overhauled and modernised, a new variety of coinage appeared and the system of communications registered an improvement." (1). To complete the picture let us borrow from K.M. Panicker who speaks about the effects of Mysorean rule on the society of Kerala in these words, "the social set up that existed from time immemorial was destroyed by the Mysorean rule. From its ruins, sprang up a new middle class society." (2). Every aspect of traditional life of Kerala felt radical change. In short, the period marked the end of medievalism and opened an era of "modern and progressive ideas" (3).

But it had its own consequences of far reaching importance. The Namboodiris and Nairs who were deprived of their undue privileges felt aggrieved by these measures. When the revenue settlement was made Namboodiri Jennis declined to attend to the Cutchery, which they believed, was a deterioration of their caste supremacy and would lower them in the esteem of other castes. Therefore, they sold the lands to the Mopilahs and others, and left the country for Travancore. The Nairs who were attached to the Naduvazhis and Desavazhis as professional soldiers and were numerous became unemployed when they were no more required by them as they had lost their political authority. Their income from the land as intermediaries between the Jennis and cultivators was also lost with the revenue settlement which was made directly with the cultivators.

---

(1) Prof.P.K.K. Menon: Kerala and East India Company (Article), History on the March, P.222.

(2) K.M. Panicker: Freedom Struggle of Kerala, P.541.

(3) A. Sreedhara Menon: A Survey of Kerala History, P.305.

Another rude shock they felt was when they were made to shelve off their old practices of polyandry and semi-nakedness. The universal application of prohibition of intoxication also affected them most. As a result, "it was the Nairs", concludes K.M. Panicker, "who had suffered most. The state of society in which they were the executive arm and of which they were the centre, disappeared when Haider entered Kerala. Though in the period that followed (the Mysoreans) they regained in some measure their social importance, the great authority which was vested in them as a community responsible both for Government and for defence, ceased with the Mysorean conquest." (4). No doubt, the Nairs fell in social and political importance. But the fall was an imminent historical necessity. The great authority they exercised prior to Mysorean occupation is graphically described by Buchanan in his 'Travels'. He says, "they are born soldiers (5).....therefore had contempt for all other professions. Everyone carries with him a fire-lock and a sword. But those who are recognised as more courageous will bear a pair of swords. Since all of them go about unsheathed naked swords, assassinations and murders are a common affair" (6). He continues to say that they were very much addicted to intoxication. (7). "When they go anywhere", writes Barbosa in his 'Description of the Coasts of South Africa and Malabar', "they shout to the peasants that they may get out of the way where they have to pass and the peasants do so and if they do not do so, the Nairs might kill them without penalty" (8). We have seen that all the

---

(4) K.M. Panicker: Op.Cit., P.529.

(5) Buchanan: Vol.II, P.366.

(6) Ibid, P.389.

(7) Ibid, P.411.

(8) Barbosa: Description etc., P.124.

castes except the Namboodiris and Nairs carried with them even atmospheric pollution. "If a Nair apprehended of his body being polluted", observes Buchanan, "by an Ezhava or Mukkuva, he must cut him down instantaneously as a matter of right." (9). These unscrupulous wanton suppression of the poorer section of the society was checked effectively by the Mysorean officers. The result was that the Nairs sunk in social and political importance and the commoners gained status and recognition in the body politic of the country.

The affected parties could not reconcile themselves with these changes that had taken away their traditional rights. They, therefore, turned rebels and began "occasional depredations on the country" (10). This led to the ruin of culti-

of Malabar. When it was harvest time or when the pepper was ripe, the Nair rebels who were hidden in jungles and forests would surprisingly make a maraud on the fruits of labour of poor peasants. Though this was checked by the Mysoreans, the physical features of the country helped the rebels to carry on such pillaging and ravaging at frequent intervals. When the political integration was first effected by Haider Ali, we have seen an organised rebellion of Nair nobles in the year 1766 which resulted in their complete rout. After this major revolt to maintain the old order, another serious threat was made in 1788-89 when the second land survey was effectively conducted and a number of illegal possessions were confiscated. In this outbreak, the Mopilah Chiefs like the Kurukkal of Manjeri who were affected also took part. Apart from these rebellions, no serious risings occurred during the period under review as an immediate consequence of the revolutionary reforms of Tipu Sultan.

---

(9) Buchanan: Vol.II, P.410.

(10) Poona Residency Records, No.22 37 A, P.37.

But as a consequence of the loss of power and profession, the Nair soldiers always allied themselves with the English Company. The English, in their turn, abetting rebellions with the discontented Nairs, created a perpetual problem of law and order in the country. As it is the duty of any civilised Government to check lawlessness, Mysoreans also kept a strict watch over the rebels and criminals who dared to defy the established system of Government. This led them to seek protection under the English Factors of Tellichery, and with their aid and connivance, they laid the country waste. When there were wars between Mysore and the Company, the Nair rebels helped the English with all vigour and enthusiasm. A serious consequence of these reforms was that the Nairs who were the soldier class of Kerala, were driven into the camps of the English Company.

Another far-reaching consequence was that the long-standing enmity between the Nair and Mopilah communities became more and more serious. The Mopilahs as loyal subjects regained their lost freedom whereas the Nairs as rebels lost their ancient rights, under Mysoreans. This was considered a religious persecution by the Nair Community who avenged the Mopilahs when they were re-equipped with authority under the English. "An extreme degree of rancour and enmity" (11) that had already existed between the Nairs and Mopilahs aggravated when "they suffered the delegation of our (English) authority to their ancient enemies, the Nairs" (12). When the English re-instated the landlords in their ancient possessions, "which for years past had been in the undisturbed possession of Mopillah cultivators widened the breadth still further." (13). The revival of the suppression by the landlords

---

(11) Fgn. (Misc.) S.No. 56, Part II, P.763.

(12) Ibid, P.845.

(13) Innes: Malabar Gazetteer, Vol.I, P.73.

on the poor Mopillah peasants sowed widespread discontentment amongst them. They began to organise themselves in armed gangs to protect their property and person from the Rajas and Jannia. The plight of the Mopillah peasants who were exorbitantly exacted during the period following the cession of Malabar were sufficiently brought out by 'The Joint Commissioners' in 1793. One of the members of the Commission made clear in the Committee that the Zamorin and his agents were collecting a number of unauthorised taxes employing even the English force to realise the amount. (14). He goes on to say, "I could not therefore help asking (to the Mopillahe interviewed at Malappuram) why they could not pay to the Company the same rent they paid to Tippoo. They said they could very well pay and very willingly, if nothing else also was demanded." (15). Again a number of letters between the Commissioners and the Zamorin was exchanged relating to the collection of death tax which was termed as Purushantereen. "The demand of the Zamorin to take Purushantereen" (a share of the property of the deceased), observed the Joint Commissioners, "is made a great instrument of oppression and particularly against the Mopillahe, the pretence being taken not only of recent deaths but of the deaths of the relations even in the time of Tippoo Sultan." (16). Accordingly they required the Zamorin to stop the collection of Purushantereen. (17). But the Zamorin in his letters to the Commissioners, asserted "the levy of Purushantereen is an ancient custom" (18) and "according to ancient usages that I may receive the Purushantereen and fines from the inhabitants without it being considered a hardship." (19). The Commissioners again wrote to

---

(14) Fgn. (Misc.) S.No. 56, Part II, P.845.

(15) Ibid, P.868.

(16) Ibid, P.824.

(17) Ibid, Voucher No. 34, P.831.

(18) Ibid, P.836.

(19) Ibid, Voucher No. 35, P.837.

the Zamorin, "this is generally included in our prohibitions as to demand founded in the ancient rights of the Rajas" (20).

But the English finally had to ignore the grievances of the Mopilah peasants and "set themselves to the task of making such adjustments in the State system as would satisfy the former rulers." (21). This precipitated Mopilah rebellions in many parts of the country from the year 1792 onwards. In the same year "the Zamorin's Nairs", writes Joint Commissioners, "had already come into collision three times with the Moppillas of Erenad....The assessment of the Rajas were unequal and Moppillas were rated more highly than Hindus. The general discontent deepened and in South Malabar, the military had to be employed" (22) against them. As ardent supporters of the Mysorean rule, they were suspected and condemned by the English from the inception of their administration. The local Rajas and landlords who gained social and political importance as loyal supporters of the British Raj added insult to the injury of the Mopilah peasants. They were thus harassed on all sides. But all these repressive measures only aggravated the situation. Omnicious clouds of discontentment gathered and thickened fast in the horizon that threatened to topple the English regime in Malabar many a time. Serious rebellions continued intermittently throughout the 19th century and thousands of Mopilahs laid down their lives fighting against the English. These outbreaks culminated in the final trial of strength in 1921-22 between the English and the Mopilahs is known in history as 'Mopilah Rebellion of

---

(20) Ibid, Voucher No. 36, P.843.

(21) E.M.S. Namboodiripad: Op.Cit., P.78.

(22) Egn.(Misc.) S.No. 55, PP.261-62, Para.290.

1921'. This continuous struggle and irreconcilable attitude towards the English deprived them of all new vistas of life. They kept out of the schools and colleges established by the English and boycotted their military and civil service. As a result of this prolonged and protracted resistance against an established Government for nearly a century and a half, the community fell into the abyss of misery and illiteracy from which they have not come out fully so far. Undoubtedly this was a far-reaching consequence of Mysorean occupation of Kerala.

(b) Failures of Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan.

With the death of Aurengzebe, the Grand Mughals shrank into a provincial power and during the period under discussion they became nominal title-holders of the 'Emperor of India'. When the central authority ceased to be supreme, the Mughal provinces one after another declared their independence under their ambitious viceroys. Thus Nizam-ul-Mulk who was the Governor of Deccan assumed the title of Nizam and established a dynasty of his own. The Marattas who tried to fill up the vacuum created by the later Mughals, retreated with defeat they suffered in the heroic battle of Panipat. Apart from these Indian powers, the French and the English were emerging as decisive factors in Indian politics.

The country that parcelled out into small kingdoms began warring against each other as it was a hated legacy of Indian rulers. The European merchants who had novel weapons, disciplined and trained troops entered into this internecine conflicts siding one party or other. When a prince found in the support of the English his salvation, his opponent felt it unavoidable to beg the assistance of the French to equalise the strength for his success. Whether such wars were decisive or not, the European traders received the promised amount of

land and money. People were willingly prepared to join the European armies because of the confidence that they would obtain more booty if they joined them. Plunder and loot were the main attractions to join the army. Suppose a country was attacked and suppose the enemies were repelled, both the victorious and the vanquished armies would vie with each other to pillage and plunder the same place. In this ~~same~~ respect, no scruple was a bar. Therefore, people preferred to join that army where more certainty of success and surety of plunder were anticipated. Any adventurous person having sufficient money could raise a force, and if he could succeed in humouring them with plunder and conquests, the strength of his military force would swell suddenly like a swollen river. On the other hand whatever might be the numerical strength of the force, it would fade away easily like the dew under the sun, if the leader met defeat in the first instance of an engagement. The creation and maintenance of an army by Haider Ali should be viewed in this background of the prevalent military set up in India. But his greatness lies in the fact that he could instil confidence in the success of his arms among his men by modelling them on the European fashion. When the Marattas, the Nizam and the Rajas of Kerala depended mostly on their traditional warfare, it was Mysore under Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan who deviated for good and achieved great distinction. They were inspired by the European examples and their scientific and industrial developments and tried to employ those novel devices on Indian genius. It was this identity of purpose, aim and organisation of Mysore under Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan which created the irreconcilable enmity of the English towards these sovereigns. That the English felt alarmed at the growth of Mysore alone, was due to these salient features of their administrative set up and military organisation. The European supremacy in the quality



of arms and ammunitions; intrepidity and strategy of war and above all their lucrative trade and commerce were surpassed by the Mysore rulers who competed them in all these aspects at an unequal speed. Therefore, in the historic process of filling the political vacuum, it was an unavoidable necessity that they should either destroy that power or be destroyed by it. No compromise was possible in this respect nor would it have been natural.

Some accuse Tipu Sultan of fighting against the English knowing well his incompetability. Others consider him a poor victim of the expansionist and aggressive policy of Wellesly. Still others bestow on him the crown of martyrdom as one who stood to the last extremity by his avowed hatred of the English. Thus many scholars assign different causes to the fall of Tipu Sultan. But a clear understanding of the whole story of the rise and fall of the Mysore power would reveal otherwise. If the fall of Tipu Sultan was precipitated by the hatred he had against the English, this torch of hatred was handed over to him by Haider Ali. If the fall was due to the highly centralised despotism of a kind in which the whole fulcrum of the Government centred round the personality of a single person, the same was also constituted by Haider Ali. If the so-called 'unprovoked attack', on Travancore Lines was the cause for the beginning of the downfall of Tipu Sultan, the enmity between Mysore and Travancore was also bequeathed to him as a legacy. Therefore, it is not correct to single out Tipu's policy from that of his father. An attempt was consciously organised and carried out by the English historians to extol Haider Ali as in all his deeds and vilify his son in all his policies. This cleverly began with Wilks, Bouring, Kirk Patrick and Beaston simply to add more weight to their vituperations against Tipu Sultan.

Thus they would claim "Haider was seldom wrong and Tipu seldom right" (1) and this was the cause for their attack. We have seen that in formulating the policies of his Government, in regulating the efficiency of administration and organising his army in European model, the pattern set up by Haider Ali was scrupulously followed by Tipu Sultan. The fundamental principles of Haider Ali's Government did not change under Tipu. Nor did he create any new problem that might threaten the existence of his Government. Therefore, if Tipu was wrong it was not his fault but that of his father from whom he had inherited a kingdom with all its assets and liabilities. But historians say that 'Haider was seldom wrong.' It justifies the assumption that Tipu who followed the same policy of his father in matters of State, and relations with Indian and foreign powers, was, as a corollary, also seldom wrong.

But in the habits and tastes that were purely personal, Tipu differed very much from his father. Haider was, as all other oriental monarchs were during his time, addicted to drink, enamoured by feminine beauty, and indulged in all frailties of human passions.(2). But among the crowned heads that fill the columns of history, Tipu distinguished himself by the sanctity of his moral life. He was free from all blemishes. His ethics of life was enriched by his learning and scholarship. His humane nature was further softened by the Sufistic philosophy to which he had a favourable inclination. While Haider Ali was an illiterate with no learning like Alaud-din-Khalji, Tipu was a scholar among scholars like Mohamed-Bin-Tughlak. No one can say that because of these qualities, 'Tipu was seldom right'.

---

(1) Wilks: Historical Sketches etc., Vol.II, P.464.

(2) M.M.D.L.T.: History of Hyder Shah etc., P.267.

Kirmani: Nishan-i-Hydari, P.489.

But the important failure of Tipu Sultan lies in some other aspects of his dominant character. Thomas Munro who summed up his career in the year 1799 said, "a restless spirit of innovation and a wish to have everything to originate from himself, was the predominant feature of his character." (3). To a certain extent his innovations and reforms caused inconvenience and puzzle to his officers who were not so learned and fertile as their master. They could not fully implicate the significance of his orders. The frequent changes of administrative units (4), introduction of a new calendar (5), a variety of new coins and weights and measures (6), might have created some degree of confusion at their inception. But we understand that these reforms did not make any stagnation in the smooth running of administration. It is true that Tipu like all other oriental monarchs, was also a despot. Centralisation, not fragmentation of power, was the necessity of the time. Tipu's Government presents a very good example of an absolute monarch from whom even the minutest details of administration originated and followed. From his letters we know that Tipu instructs even his petty officers of things that are expected to be done by them. Sometimes he assumes the role of a physician prescribing medicines and pronouncing the causes for the diseases. (7). A variety of letters dealing with innumerable subjects have come down to us amply manifesting his versatility and genius in different sciences and branches of knowledge. But it has its own defects also. As the practice was for Tipu to give his directions on all matters, the officers would always hesitate

---

(3) Glegg: Life of Munro, Vol.I, P.233 quoted by H.H.Dodwell in the Cambridge History of India, Vol.V, P.303.

(4) Kirmani: History of Tipu Sultan (Miles), P.68.

(5) Ibid, P.133.

(6) Ibid, P.136.

(7) Kirk Patrick: Select letters of Tippoo Sultan; Letter Nos. XXXVIII, P.53; CXV, P.146; CCLXXV, PP.310-11.

to take a decision on their own eventhough they could invoke their discretionary powers. This overcentralisation of authority was one of the weaknesses of Tipu's empire.

Another dominant character in him was his consistency and candidness. His attachment towards his parents, friends, officers and children touches the degree of sentimentalism. He was sincere in his dealings with others whether personal or public in nature. These qualities should certainly make any person a gem among human creations, but to a ruler of 18th century to observe them was suicidal. In spite of the evil consequences, Tipu followed these exemplary qualities throughout his life. In a world where deceit and treachery were commonly practised in personal and public life, where conspiracies and intrigues, murders and assassinations tended to better possessions and prosperity and where the Machiavellian perfidy was literally applied to achieve political destination, outspoken sincerity in diplomatic relations and frankness in politics were detrimental to one's own interest. Here lies the most important failure of Tipu Sultan. When he knew that the Chief of Tellichery was conspiring against him, abetting lawlessness among his subjects and what he wrote to him on that account was a fraud and lie, Tipu admonished him saying, "you are not a good man" and ordered him not to write to him thereafter. (8). This speaks ~~so~~ much of his character. He expected the same sincere disposition which he observed strictly in his dealings but received back deception that made him pour out his feelings without any veil. Again, we have seen how he believed to be genuine the favourable line of action said to have been taken by the Governor of Madras and the Governor-General relating to the dispute between him and the Raja of Travancore which

---

(8) P.R.C., No. 37 A, P.37.

precipitated his movement towards the Travancore Lines and how great was the surprise he had when he knew of the declaration of war by the English on this issue. On the eve of the last war with the English, Tipu refused to surrender the Frenchmen and other Europeans in his kingdom though General Harris in his ultimatum to Tipu Sultan with preliminaries of a draft treaty demanded of him "to send them forthwith to the English camp" (9). It is reported that when M. Chapiers offered himself to be delivered to the English, the sense of self-respect, honour and consistency of his character prevented him from stooping to such a shameful level. (10).

Another important failure of the Mysore rulers was that they did not make use of the hereditary Mopilah Navigators of Malabar to defend the Coast from the Europeans. With better equipments, provisions and leadership, the Marikkars of Malabar (as they were called) would have been a great asset to the Mysore rulers in safeguarding the Coast against the European navy. It is a well-known fact that it was these Marikkars of Malabar that defended the Coast from the Portuguese by waging a number of famous naval wars with them under the colours of the Zamorin for more than a century. (11). From Gujerat to Ceylon, their naval supremacy was unchallenged till the Portuguese gained strength in the latter half of 16th century. (12). This veritable source was not tapped either by Haider Ali or by Tipu Sultan. It is true that Haider Ali created a navy under Aly Raja of Cannanore but it did not play any major role except to

---

(9) Kirk Patrick: Appendix No. XXVI General Harris to Tipu Sultan, Preliminaries of a draft Treaty Articles 2 & 3.  
Also Kirmani: Op.Cit., PP.120-21.

(10) Kirmani: Op.Cit., PP.124-45.

(11) See 'The Marikkars' - the Admirals of Zamorin, by Prof.O.K. Nambiar.

(12) K.M.Panicker: Op.Cit., P.59.

escort the cargo vessels. Tipu seriously turned his attention to the formation of an efficient navy only after Malabar was lost to him. It was this failure that helped the English to overrun Malabar without much opposition as we have witnessed in the Second and Third Mysore Wars. If there were a strong navy under the farfamed Marikkars of Malabar, the task of the English might have been a tremendous one to dislodge the Mysoreans from Kerala. They also failed to make the conquered people believe that more benefit would accrue if they showed willing obedience to their rule.

It is quite easy to sit in judgment on the failures of bygone days. But it can seldom be a fair judgment as the time and circumstances that necessitated one's action on a particular event during his regime would be entirely different to a person who views things after a lapse of centuries. It is said of Tipu Sultan that people often heard him say, "that in the world he would rather live two days like a tiger than two hundred years like a sheep," (13), and he proved totally true to his words. If these are failures, no doubt Tipu failed. But in fact the great failures in the annals of history more often bequeath to posterity, lessons of eternal value than do many brilliant victories.

(c) The importance of the period  
in the history of India.

The history of India in the 18th century could be divided into two parts - the first beginning with the death of Aurengzeb in the year 1707 and the second from the ascendancy of Haider Ali in 1761 to the death of Tipu Sultan in 1799. The death of Aurengzeb was the signal for the

---

(13) Beatson: Origin and Conduct of War with Tippoo Sultan, P.217.

downfall of the Grand Mughals. The period from 1707 to 1761 witnessed a number of Indian and foreign powers fighting each other to establish their paramountcy in India. The Sikhs, the Marattas, the Nizam, the French, the Dutch and the English could carve out their independent kingdoms and places of influence from the ruins of the Grand Monarchy of India. But no power, whether Indian or foreign, proved competent to fill the political vacuum created by the later Mughals. The Third Panipat War finally broke the Maratta ascendancy and ended the hope of an Indian power gaining supremacy over the whole of India. The foreign powers also could not claim much political importance during this period, as the Dutch, the French and the English exercised equal influence and commanded more or less the same strength in their political and commercial activities. The unusual length of the continuance of the Grand Monarchy under the Mughals, when fell, the fall was irreparable. The country became a sea of intrigues and conspiracies. No power could gain an upper hand in Indian politics. Thus in this interval of history, a number of powers equal in strength and weakness emerged in the political map of India.

Another important feature of this period is that the centre of interest was shifted from the North to the South of India. The Marattas, the Nizam and the European powers, all concentrated in their activities in the places South of Vindhya and Satpura mountains. The contest of the European powers for trade monopoly and commercial supremacy in the Western and Eastern coasts of South India present an interesting study of coming into the scene powers with new techniques and devices so far unknown to Indian politics. The traditional form of warfare, the system of degenerated feudal tenure and the outmoded customary usages of the country were wonderstruck at the modern and novel

systems of European traders. But none of the Indian rulers was prepared to change the age-long practices either in administration or military, taking advantage of European contacts. Thus the first part of 18th century showed not only political uncertainty as there were a number of powers of equal strength warring each other but also no sign of feeling the pulse of the time.

But when we enter into the second part of 18th century, the change occurs, when Haider Ali rose to eminence among his other Indian contemporaries. The history of India regains importance from this time onwards that it was the only power that could hope of integrating India once more under a national monarchy. The reason for this assumption is that it was Mysore alone under Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan understood the trends of European advance in science and technology, who were in fact the real products of the European contacts. If Haider Ali did not make use of his knowledge of European warfare through the intimate contact with the English and the French, Mysore could never have played any important role in Indian politics. But the period from 1761 onwards was a period where an attempt was made for the revival of Indian glory. The modern outlook of the Mysore rulers and their eagerness to industrialise the country and introduce revolutionary reforms, in the feudal and traditional society lead us to believe that if Mysore could triumph over the English, they would have modernised the country far better than what the English had done. A serious study of the political, social and economic reforms innovated by them which shook the traditions and customs that were imbedded in the decadent feudal theories, show that radical changes would have been witnessed by the Indian society if the Mysore power was destined to predominate Indian politics.



In fact, the fall of Tipu Sultan in 1799 marked the end of not only the hope of revival of Indian power but also closed the Chapter of modernisation of the country at least for another century.

The political indefiniteness showed the sign of disappearance with the ascendancy of Haider Ali. He and his son Tipu Sultan unquestionably established their supremacy as the most important sovereigns among their Indian contemporaries. They proved beyond doubt that if they were left for a trial of strength between themselves and other Indian and foreign powers severally, they would have quite easily regained the lost political unity of India. But it was a misfortune that by this time, the English became the most decisive power among the European traders of India which turned the course of history in a different way. It was a strange coincidence that the year 1761 in which Haider Ali became the virtual ruler of Mysore, the English also emerged themselves as the foremost power among the Europeans in India. It was in the months of January and February of 1761, they dispossessed the French, of Pondichery and Mahe respectively.(1). Thus in the Anglo-French contest for supremacy in India, the English were victorious. This carries great political significance as regards the subsequent history of India. Again it was in this year the Marattas retreated after their defeat in the last Battle of Panipat. Thus the political horizon of India became somewhat clear from 1761 onwards, with the emergence of two important powers namely Mysore and the English - one Indian and the other foreign.

The history of India from 1761 to the close of 18th century is the struggle for supremacy between these powers to decide the destinies of India and her people. The significance of the Four Anglo-Mysore Wars and their evil consequences should be viewed from this stand-point. But in the

---

general histories of India, particular emphasis is not given to manifest its real importance. The Anglo-Mysore Wars were thus a trial of strength between the Indian aspiration of regaining her political unity and the English ambition of establishing a colonial empire. Studied from this point of view, the period from 1761 to 1799 would certainly provide us with innumerable questions that challenge the currently established theories in the history of India.

We are made to believe that it was from 1800 when Marquis of Wellesly could triumph over Tipu Sultan and stabilise the English supremacy in India, the country began to experience unity and wisdom. In fact, the modernisation of the country felt a setback with the inception of Company's Government. The people under Mysore rule who began to be conscious of human rights and enjoy the benefit of social and economic reforms, suffered very much when the table was turned against them. The Company's Government created loyal supporters in all the ceded territories by re-establishing the feudal order and leaving the people to the mercy of these feudal chieftains. Thus the Indian society again sank into the old order without any hope of salvation. The economic reforms and commercial establishments of Mysore Nawabs might have created an Industrial Revolution in India if they could defeat the English. Thus the political integration of the country, the economic advancement of the people - through industrial and commercial enterprises on the one hand and change of agrarian relations and promotions of agriculture on the other and the social reforms that were destined to destroy the old order and replace it by a new and modern one - all were lost by a sudden reverse with the fall of Tipu Sultan and the inception of the English Government. No comparative study is seriously undertaken on this aspect of Indian history. This struggle for supremacy between

the indigenous and foreign powers ended in the failure of Indians. Thus it closed that Chapter of India being ruled by her own men. In its place came a foreign and imperial Government with its colonial and mercantile policies, the pinch of which was felt very tightly by the people of India for nearly a century and a half.

~~\*\*\*\*\*~~

## **B I B L I O G R A P H Y**

-----

### **I. ORIGINAL SOURCES: UNPUBLISHED RECORDS:**

#### **1. National Archives of India, New Delhi.**

- i) Foreign and Home Department Record 1756-80  
Secret Consultations.**
- ii) a) Foreign and Political 1756-1780 - Secret  
Consultations.**
  - b) Ibid, Proceedings.**
  - c) Ibid, 5th May to 2nd July, 1790.**
  - d) Ibid, Secret Proceedings, Oct-Nov., 1789,  
S.No. 96 A.**
  - e) Ibid, 5th May to 11th Nov., 1789.**
  - f) Ibid, Secret Proceedings, 1799, Nos. 6, 17,  
18, 25, 26, 27, 31, 34, 40, 46.**
- iii) Foreign and Political - Select Committee  
Proceedings, 5th January to 20th July, 1768.**
- iv) a) Foreign Miscellaneous, Vols. 54 (1792),  
55 Part I, and Part II (1793), 56, 57, 58  
and 59 A. Report of the Commissioners of  
Malabar and the connected papers.**
  - b) Ibid, S.No. 92. Memoirs of the Northern  
Parghanas of Mysore surveyed in 1800-1801  
by C. Machenzie, Captain of Engineers,  
March, 1803.**
  - c) Ibid, S.No. 93. A memoirs and registers of  
the Parghanas of Oossacotta, Junguncottah, and  
Colar in Mysore. John Warren, 1802.**
  - d) Ibid, S.No. 94 - Report relating to Mysore  
Survey. C. Machenzie, Oct., 1800.**
- v) Foreign Department Secret Correspondance, 1788-89.**
- vi) Foreign and Secret - Proceedings, 1794.**
- vii) a) Foreign Dept. - Secret Consultations, 1775.**
  - b) Ibid, 1776.**
  - c) Ibid, 1777**
  - d) Ibid, 1779**
- viii) a) Foreign Dept. Secret and Political Proceedings  
1-22 Sept., 1788, S.No. 92.**
  - b) Ibid, S.No. 96, 26th August to 25th Sept., 1789.**
- ix) Foreign Dept. Select Committee Proceedings 16th  
January, 1771 to October, 1774. 20-C, Range A,  
Vol. XI.**

- x) a) Military Dent. Records - Military Board letter Book November, 1790 to April, 1791 No. 13.
- b) Ibid, Proceedings, April, 1791.
- c) Ibid, Proceedings December 1799, No. 186.
- d) Ibid, letter book - May to October 1792, No.16.
- xi) Original Receipts - Persian and Maratti letters - Oriental collections.

2. Madras Record Office, Madras.

- i) Cochin Commissioners' Diary, Vols. 2032, 2033 and 2034.
- ii) Factory Records - (a) Diaries, (b) General.
- iii) Forest Records, Vol. 2408.
- iv) Madras Secret Consultations, Vols.V (1797), VI (1798), VIII B (1799).
- v) Military Consultations, 1782-1799.
- vi) Military Country Correspondence, Vols. 32, 33, 37, 38, 40, 41 and 42.
- vii) Military Despatches, 1783-90.
- viii) Military Sundry Books, Vols. 60 A, 60 B (1783), 61 (1784), 66 (1785), 109 A and 109B.
- ix) Military Sundries, Vol. 106.
- x) Tellichery Factory Records, Vol.38, No. 12 1503.

3. Central Records, Ernakulam.

- 1) List II, Series II, No. 182. Disputes over some territory of Vaduthala etc. which the Raja of Cochin claims that he enjoyed the possession under Tipu Sultan.
- 2) a) List III, Nos. 59 and 60 - relating to the special privileges of Marakkar (converts to Christianity).
- b) Ibid, No. 47, about the prohibition of cow slaughter.
- c) Ibid, Nos. 401 and 402 - First about the exemption granted from tolls and second agreeing with the punishment given to the Diwan of Travancore.
- d) Ibid, No. 441 - Mode of punishment for adultery.
- e) Ibid, No. 435 - request to remove an officer from the State Service.

- 3) a) List IV, Dis.No. 79 - Administration of Justice.  
b) Ibid, Dis. No. 76 - The Raja reiterates his claim of exemption from the custom duties at Edathuruthy, quoting precedents from the time of Tipu Sultan.
- 4) a) List V, First Series, Dis. No. 90, Special privileges given to Markkarakars.  
b) Ibid, No. 673, The atrocities of certain Travancore subjects in the territory of Cochin Raja.
- 5) List VI, 1st series, No. 131. Dispute over Chetwai - quotes precedents of enjoyment of the possession by the Cochin Raja under Tipu Sultan.
- 6) a) List VII, 1st series No. 160 - sheds light on the relation of Tipu with the Sringeri Mutt.  
b) Ibid, No. 152/2 - Privileges of Christian converts.  
c) Ibid, No. 161 - requiring the Raja to join in the Fourth Anglo-Mysore War.  
d) Ibid, No. 160 - Report of the final stage of Fourth Mysore War and the death of Tipu Sultan.  
e) Ibid, II series No. 1011 - A proclamation reducing the duty from 10 per cent to 5 per cent on Travancore goods and 6 per cent on those imported from other countries.
- 7) a) List VIII Nos. 180 and 188. About letters without dates and signatures.  
b) Ibid No. 191, Tribute amount to the Company realised.  
c) Ibid, Dis. No. 166 is very important to show the friendly relation of Mysore with Cochin.  
d) Ibid, Dis. No. 165 - Raja confesses that he maintains no relation at all with Tipu Sultan.
- 8) List XI (1) Regulations O.L.Vol.VII, Proclamation to ameliorate the condition of Cherumas etc.
- 9) a) List XIII, 1st series No. 213 - Raja enjoys with the English on the fall of Tipu.  
b) Ibid, No. 214 - Raja declines to supply timber to the English from Cochin on the plea that he had to rebuild the temples and palaces destroyed by Tipu.
- 10) List XV, 1st series - Expulsion of some criminals from Cochin who escaped from Tipu's territory.
- 11) List XXXII/A, 1st series No. 340/1 to 10 Report about the success of the army in dislodging the sepoys of Tipu from their firm ground in the Third Anglo-Mysore War.
- 12) List XXXVII/7 No. 349/7 suspects the Raja for secret intrigues with Tipu Sultan.

- 13) List LXI/A - 1st series, Nos. 4, 8, 11 - Correspondence between the Dutch Governor and the Raja.
- 14) List LXI/B Series I, Dutch Governor of Ceylon writes to the Raja that the Dutch are not prepared to help any native rulers - Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8 and 11 are very important in these series.
- 15) a) List LXII, Series I, No. 36 about Markkarak.
- b) Ibid, No. 166 - Raja's correspondence to ally with the English.
- c) Ibid, Nos. 167 and 168 relating to the conditions of alliance.
- d) Ibid, No. 205, Treaty stipulations.
- e) Ibid, No. 219 - about slave trade.
- f) Ibid, No. 228 - dispute over the possession of Cranganore and Chetwai.
- 16) List LXV, Series I deals a large number of complaints and counter-charges about the Markkarak and Konginies.
- 17) List LXII, Series I, No. 16 - Advice to maintain peace with the English. This series contains a number of letters of which Nos. 19, 27, 29, 31 and 32 are important. They relate to the Third Mysore War. The Dutch Governor gives instructions how the Cochin Raja had to proceed with the English, Travancore and Mysore. They are highly useful.
- 18) LXII, No. 20 - deals with slave trade.
- 19) LXXI - This series also contains correspondence between the Raja of Cochin and the Dutch that bore political importance. Nos. 26, 174, 175 and 176 are the letters and replies between the Raja and the Dutch the former requesting arms and ammunition to fight against Tipu and the latter assuring the same through the sweet promises.
- 20) A descriptive list relating to the Dutch period (1663 - 1795) in Malayalam. The following numbers in the series are very useful: 18, 62, 70, 75, 101, 116, 117, 122, 123, 125, 126, 127, 130, 132, 136, 145, 146, 164, 165, 167, 168, 169, 170, 175, 179, 186, 189, 190, 191, 192, 214, 226, 245, 272 and 283.

**4. Kozhikode Collectorate Records, Kozhikode.**

Inam Registers in five folio volumes contain the rent-free lands given by Tipu Sultan to various temples, sathrams and Hindu scholars in Kerala. It also gives the list of lands and gifts given by Tipu to both Hindu and Muslim divines and institutions.

**5. Manuscript Library, Tripounithura. (Palm leaves).**

- 1) Grandhavari No. 1169 - Budhacharitham (History of Christianity) Ezhuthachan Pattu.
- 2) Ibid, Nos. 541 and 625 deal with the different customs and beliefs in omens, astrology etc. The grandhams bore the title 'Achare Sangraham'.
- 3) Grandhavari No. 751 describes the variations of different castes.
- 4) Grandhavari No. 515. 'Aasoucham' - gives various customs and practices ordained for different castes.
- 5) Grandhavari No. 654 - 'Dharma Sastram' - About the Acharams and anacharams of different castes written in 156 palmare leaves on both sides.

**6. Mathilakom (Fort) Records, Trivandrum.**

'Curuna 1308 deals with the attack of Travancore Lines and other subsequent events.

**II. RECORDS (PUBLISHED):**

- 1) Grandham No.5 - Sreemoolam Malayala Bhasa Grandhavali, Trivandrum - Padappattu - It is a most important and perhaps first secular work in Kerala describing the wars between the Portuguese and the Dutch that led to the establishment of the Dutch ascendancy. It contains a scholarly introduction by the late Mahakavi Ulloor S. Parameswara Iyer.
- 2) Translation of a Record Grandhavari - Central Record Office, Ernakulam, 1916. This briefly gives the history of ancient and Medieval Kerala and thus supplements Keral Ulpathi and Kerala Mahatmyam.
- 3) Grandham No. 61 - Invasion of Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan and subsequent developments and treaties - Central Records, Ernakulam.
- 4) Grandham No. 62 - Grandhavari on Perumpadappu Swaroopam - Gives a brief history of Cochin; Central Records, Ernakulam.
- 5) Grandham No. 63, Formation of Kerala - Central Records, Ernakulam.
- 6) Grandham Nos 64 and 65 - Treaties - Central Records, Ernakulam.
- 7) Grandhangal No. 18 - Ferala Charitam - Manuscript Library, Trivandrum. This is a separate version of Kerala Ulpathi.
- 8) The Despatches, Minutes and Correspondence of Marquies of Vallesly K.G., Edited by Montgomery Martin, London, Vol.IV.



- 9) Indian Record Series - Vestiges of old Madras 1640 - 1800 - Traced from the East India Company's Records preserved at Fort St. George and the Indian Office and from other sources, Vol.II - Henry Davinson Love, London.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

- 10) India House Correspondence, Vol.II - 1757-59, edited by H.N. Sinha.  
11) Ibid, Vol.IV, 1767-1769 edited by H.N.Sinha.  
12) Ibid, Public Department - Select and Secret series, Vol. VI, 1770-1772 edited by Dr.Bisheshwar Prasad.  
13) Ibid, (Public Series) Vol.IX edited by B.A.Saletore.  
14) Ibid, Foreign and Secret series 1782-1786 Vol.XV, edited by Prof.C.H. Philips and Dr.B.B.Mishra.  
15) Ibid - Foreign, Political and Secret Series, Vol.XVII, 1792-1795 - edited by Prof.Taraporewala.  
16) Selections from Orme's Manuscripts edited by Prof.C.S. Srinivasachariar.  
17) Calendar of Persian Correspondence 1790-91, edited by Dr. S.H. Sen.  
18) Ibid, 1792-93 - edited by K.D.Bharghawa.

MADRAS RECORD OFFICE PUBLICATIONS:

- 19) Records of Fort St.George - Country Correspondence Political Department, 1800.  
b) Ibid, 1801, (c) Ibid, 1802, d) Ibid 1803, (e) Ibid 1804.  
20) Ibid, Sundry Book (Public Dept.) 1758-59.  
21) Ibid, Letters to Fort St.George Volume XLV - 1765.  
22) Ibid, Letters from Fort St.George, Volume 40-1765.  
23) Ibid, French Correspondence (Public Sundries) No.8(2) - 1750 - (b) Ibid, No. 9, 25 1752.  
24) Manila Consultations, Vol.No. 10, 1764.  
25) Dutch Records No. 5, Historical account of Nawab Haider Ali Khan (From the year 1763).  
26) Dutch Records No. 13, Malabar and the Dutch - Among the published Dutch Records this is very important for the present study. It contains the 'Memorandum on the Administration of the Malabar Coast' by the Dutch Governors

Golleneare and Moens. A brief biography of Haider Ali Khan written by Moens is also included. Above all, Gallitte, the editor, gives an extensive and educative introduction.

- 27) The Darumshel Records, Vols. I, II, III, IV, V, XV, XVI, XVII, XVIII, XIX, XXII.

Hyderabad Record Office.

- 28) a) Poona Akhbars, Vol.I, Edited by R.M. Joshi.  
b) Ibid Vol.II, edited by R.M. Joshi.  
c) Ibid, Vol.III edited by R.M. Joshi - We have in these Akhbars abundant materials which when pierced together will yield a connected account of Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan. Incidentally these later Akhbars present to us in bold relief the tangled and shifting pattern of diplomatic relations and cross-relations which existed between the Marattas, the English, the Nizam and Mysore.
- 29) The Chronology of modern Hyderabad, 1722-1890 - From the establishment of Nizam dynasty this official document gives the name of the successive rulers and important events.
- 30) Faramans and Sanads of the Deccan Sultans - Edited by Yusuf Husain Khan.
- 31) News-letters 1767-1799 edited by Dr.Yusuf Husain.  
This contains very useful information of the period under review.
- 32) Diplomatic Correspondence between Mir Nizar Ali Khan and the East India Company (1780-1798). Many letters regarding the preparation, proposed alliance and campaigns of Third Anglo-Mysore War are included. This serves to know the twists and turns of the English in their diplomatic relations with Nizam and others.

Bombay Record Office.

- 33) Poona Residency Correspondence Vols. II, III, IV, V, VI and VIII. These volumes are prepared on the basis of letters written and received by the Poona Durbar and from other sources with an aim of presenting the history of Malabar. They are arranged in chronological order and also on sequence of events. For the present study, Vol.III is unavoidable as it describes the origin, conduct and conclusion of the Third Anglo-Mysore War.

ORIGINAL SOURCES - 2.

1. Lt. Col. Alexander Beaton: A view of the origin and conduct of the war with Tippoo Sultan, 1800.
2. Major Dirom: A Narrative of the Campaign in India which terminated the War with Tippoo Sultan - 1792, London, 1794.
3. W. Fullerton: A view of the English interest in India, Madras.
4. Francis Buchanan: A Journey from Madras through the countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar, 3 Vols., London - W. Bulmer - 1807.
5. Hussain Ali Khan Kirmani: Nishan-i-Hyderi, translated by Col. Miles (a) The History of Haider Haik (b) History of Tipu Sultan.
6. Mirza Iqbal: Ahwaly Haider Haik, Translated by Col. W. Miles.
7. L. Moor: A Narrative of the operations of Captain Little's Detachment and of the Maratta army commanded by Parasuram Bhau: London, 1794.
8. Melleson, C.B.: - Seringapatam: The capital of Tipu.
9. M.M.D.L.T. - The History of Hyder Shah, alias, Haider Ali Khan Bahadur and of his son Tipoo Sultan, 1855.
10. Catalogue and Memoirs of Tippoo Sultan: Author unknown.
11. Authentic Memoirs of Tippoo Sultan by an officer of the East India Company, 1819.
12. William Kirkpatrick: Select letters of <sup>Tipu</sup>Tippoo Sultan, 1811.
13. Lt. Col. Wilks, Mark: Historical Sketches of South of India, in an attempt to trace the history of Mysore, Edited by M. Hammilk, 1810-'14.

SECONDARY SOURCES:

1. Achutha Menon, C. Cochin State Manual, 1910.
2. Anandakrishna Iyyer: Cochin, Tribes and Castes, 1912.
3. Bouring, L.B: Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan (Rulers of India Series) 1893.
4. Dodwell H.B., Cambridge History of India, Vol.V.

5. Duff, Grants History of the Marattas (S.M. Edwardes), 2 Vols, 1921.
6. Dubois, Abbe, J.A. — Hindu, Manners, Customs and Ceremonies.
7. Francis Day The Land of the Perumals or Cochin; its Past and Present, Madras, 1863.
8. Fergusson History of India and Eastern Architecture, 1876.
9. Gopala Panicker; T K: Malabar and Its Folk, 1905
- 10 Hamilton New Account of East Indies.
- 11 Hamid Ali ~~Mopilahs of Malabar.~~
- 12 Hayavadana Rao Mysore Gazetteer, Vols. II, III, IV and V, Bangalore, 1930.
13. Innes, G.A: Malabar Gazetteer, 2 Vols., Madras, 1906.
14. James Mill History of British India, edited by H.R. Wilson; 1848, Vols. III to VI.
15. Krishna Iyyer, K. V. (a) The Zamorins of Calicut, (b) A Short History of Kerala.
- 16 Kumara Pillai Report, Trivandrum, 1965.
- 17 Logan, W: Malabar Manual, 2 Vols: 1887, Madras.
- 18 Madhava Ayyar : The Travancore Land Revenue Manual.
- 19 Melleson C.B. — Seringapatam — The Capital of Tipu.
- 20 Mohibbul Hasan Khan : History of Tipu Sultan, 1 51.
- 21 Mookerji, R: Indian Shipping.
- 22 Nagam Ayya : Travancore State Manual.
- 23 Padmanabha Menon, K. P. — History of Kerala, 4 Vols.
24. Panicker, K.M.: Malabar and the Dutch, 1 31.
- 25 Pillai, K.K.: The Sucheendram Temple.
26. Ponnen, T.I., Dutch Beginning in India proper.
27. Raja, P.K.S.: Medieval Kerala, 1 53.

25. Ram Gopal: A political history of Muslims in India.
27. Regozin: Vedic India.
30. Roberts P.E.: History of British India, 1929.
34. Centaran Kambodiripad E.M.: Kerala: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow, 1967.
35. Sankunny Menon: A History of Travancore, 1878.
36. Sen, S.N. - Studies in Indian History, 1930.
37. Sesha Ayyar, T.K.: Dravidian India.
38. Shaik Ali: British Relations with Haider Ali, 1963.
39. Sinha, D.K: Haider Ali, two volumes, 1944.
39. ~~Stuart Piggot~~ ——— as Kerala History, 1967.
38. Stuart Piggot: Pre-historic India
37. Subbraya Gupta: New Light on Tipu Sultan, 1967.
40. Sewell Robert: Historical Inscriptions of Southern India.
41. Thomas, P.: Hindu: Customs and Manners.
42. Thurston: Madras Government Museum Bulletin, Vol.IV.
43. Velu Pillai, T.K.: Travancore State Manual, 4 Vols., 1930.
47. ~~Zainuddin Shaik: Tuh-fat-ul-Fujhadeen, English and Malayalam Translations, — translated by S.M.A. Hussain Nair and Velayudhan Panickkessery respectively.~~
44. History on the March: Papers published by the Kerala History Association, Ernakulam, 1966.
45. Manual of Standing Information of Madras Presidency, Madras, 1893.
46. Kerala Uthathi, Basel Mission Press Edition.
41. Travancore Census Reports of 1901 and 1874-5.
48. Gazetteer of Nilgiri District, Vol.1.

#### MALAYALAM BOOKS.

1. Balakrishnan, P.K.: Tipu Sultan, 1959.
2. Balakrishna Pillai, A: Historic Research in Ancient Kerala History, 1957.

3. Damodaran, K: Kerala History, Vol.I, 1962.
4. Fareem, C.R.: An Introduction to Indian History, 1965.
5. Fessven, C.: Jeevitha Samaram (Autobiography) 2 Vols., 1953.
6. Koyatty Mouleevi: Malabar Rebellion, 1953.
7. Krishna Menon, T.K.: Kerala Samskaram, 1939.
8. Kunjan Pillai, Elamkulam: Jenni Sambradeyam Peralethil, 1959.
9. Padmanabha Menon, K.D.: History of Cochin State, 2 Vols.
10. Panicker, K.M. (a) Freedom Struggle of Kerala  
(b) ~~A Survey of Indian History.~~
11. Parameswaran Pillai, V.R.: Ancient Inscriptions, 1963.
12. Prem Pith: Keralathila Adimakal (Slaves of Kerala) 1966.
13. Raman Menon, P. (a) Sakthan Thempuran, 1942.  
(b) Peralethil, 1959.
14. Sankaran Namboodiripad, E.M.: Keralam: Velayalikaluda Jamma Bhoomi, 1951.
15. Sanku Iyyer: Buddhism and Kerala, 1962.
16. Shamsuddeen Qadiri: Ancient Malabar, Translated by Abdul Qayyum, V. - 1954.
17. (a) Syed Mohamed, P.A. (a) Kerala Muslim Directory, 1960.  
(b) History of Muslims of Kerala, 1963.  
(c) What Travellers Saw in Kerala, 1952.  
(d) Keralam Moottandukalkku Mumbu, 1957.  
(e) Charitrakeralam, 1951.  
(f) Charitratil: Sila Kusumangal, 1967.  
(g) Ancient Inhabitants, 1967.  
(h) Kerala Muslim Jamaat Statistics, 1965.
18. Velayudhan Panickassery: (a) Keralam Perumakkanmaruda Kalathu, 1953 (Translation).  
(b) Kerala Six Hundred Years ago (Ibn Battuta: Translation), 1962.  
(c) Kerala in the 15th and 16th Centuries (Translation of Tuhfathul Mujahideen), 1963.